they are primarily in the domain of the academic world—colleges and universities. A new thrust has to be given for industry and enterprise based researches as a means of removal of technology obsolescence of our industries and constantly updating the industrial technologies.

ENVIRONMENT AND ECOLOGY: RESTORATION AND PROTECTION

Our agricultural and industrial practices, ever growing urbanisation, incountry migrations and life styles of the people have taken an incredible toll on our forests, environment and ecology. We have, no doubt, taken significant measures to handle this problem. Many of the environment and ecology restoration measures are capital intensive. Modalities of finding resources for rectifying the damages already done should be gone into. Protective measures for the future should stem from readjustment of our life styles and thinking processes.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENTS

Our country is reputed for its excellent track-record of honouring commitments made in terms of international covenants and agreements, be they in the United Nations or in specialised agencies under the United Nations system. Before entering upon these commitments in international fora, no doubt, widest possible national discussions and debates would be appropriate. But once commitments are made, we need to honour them. We can ill-afford to be seen as a nation reneging on our commitments. Such commitments should be properly and duly followed up by national legislative action, wherever needed. While even failure of such lagislative action would be understood and appreciated by the world community as a matter of democratic compulsion, dithering and inaction in this regard would only project India as an untrustworthy customer in running international relations in a civilised manner.

The issues I have attempted to present, in essence, imply the need for *a second freedom struggle*—this time the struggle should be for *freedom from our own internal contradictions* between our prosperity and poverty, between the plenty of our resource endowments and the scarcity of their prudent management, between our culture of peace and tolerance and our current conduct sliding towards violence, intolerance and discrimination. If we succeed in this second freedom struggle, there is no reason why in the ensuing millennium, we shall not be amongst the top nations of the world.

Thank you for your attention.

11.43 hrs.

MOTION RE: STATE OF DEMOCRACY AND DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, ECONOMIC SITUATION, POSITION OF INFRASTRUCTURE, ACHIEVEMENTS AND POTENTIAL IN THE FIELD OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AND STATE OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT IN THE COUNTRY

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE

[Translation]

*SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE (Lucknow) : Mr. Speaker, I beg to move :

> 'That this House do consider the state of our democracy and democratic institutions, the economic situation, the position of infrastructure, achievements and potential in the field of science and technology and the state of human development in the country'.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, we express our gratitude to you for having convened this special session on the occasion of Golden Jubilee celebrations of our Independence. This session is being held in a lively atmosphere. There is neither any Question Hour nor any Zero Hour. As there is no Qustion Hour so the ministers are also feeling free. It is not essential for them to be present in the House. Because there is no Zero Hour, our media friends can hope that there will be no tussle today. Neither there is question of laying papers on the Table of the House nor is there any scope of expressing one's grievances under rule 377.

I have moved a Motion which incorporates all the subjects. I was thinking as to where from should I begin and where should I conclude. But your speech has left

*Other signatories to the motion moved by Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee were: Shri Sharad Pawar, Shri Sharad Yadav, Shri Somnath Chatterjee, Shri N.S.V. Chitthan, Shri Murasoli Maran, Shri Mulayam Singh Yadav, Dr. M. Jagannath, Prof. Ajit Kumar Mehta, Shri Madhukar Sarpotdar, Shri Indrajit Gupta, Shri Kanshi Ram, Shri Surjit Singh Barnala, Shri George Fernandes, Shri Sanat Kumar Mandal, Shri Birendra Prasad Baishya, Shri Chitta Basu, Shri Om Prakash Jindal, Shri Ram Bahadur Singh, Shri G.M. Banatwalla.

no room for that. Your speech was so condensed and elaborate that perhaps no issue or aspect pertaining to national life has been left uncovered. I do not know whether as a Member I can comment upon your speech or not. But I welcome this call of yours and agree that this nation of ours needs to wage yet another war of Independence.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, since our Independence a period of 50 years have elapsed. Time does not wait for anyone. Half of the century has gone and the second half is before us. New century is knocking at our doors. New era is awaiting us and now when we have assembled here to take stock of the last 50 years it is but natural that our attention is drawn to the point as to why our country despite all its achievements has not been able to convert all its dreams into a reality? Today, when we are taking a pledge to make our independence perpetual and everlasting, this question repeatedly comes to our mind as to why we came under subjugation? Fifty years is not a long period for an individual it may be a long period but that is not so with regard to an ancient country like India. Our culture and civilization dates back to more than five thousand years. In fact no new nation is coming up.

When we ponder over the reason for our subjugation, we find that we did not become slave just for the reason that we did not have a lot of money. India had ample wealth, that is why she fell victim to aggressions. In 1757, Clive had remarked about Mursheedabad—the capital of divided Bengal, I would like to quote.

[English]

> 'The city is as extensive, populous and rich as the city of London with this difference that there were individuals in the first possessing infinitely greater property than in the last city'.

[Translation]

In this connection the following words of Rajni Pamdatt are also worth quoting:

> 'In the Seventeenth Century Britain was not in a position to give anything to India that India did not have. Whether it was the quality of products and whether it was from the angle of technology standard.'

We all are aware of the condition of the country that it has undergone during the last 200 years. We have not lost battle because of lack of wealth or army or due to lack of spirit of bravery. We lost the battle of Panipat despite having a large army and with this we lost our Independence. Virtually, in Plassey, where no battle took place, we were betrayed, because when the battle was going on in Plassey, the people more than the number of fighting soldiers were waiting for ultimate result of the battle as if it was some sort of fun.

India is an ancient nation and our culture is coming down since ages but we failed to build a sovereign nation. We have not been able to transform India into a united and powerful nation, and a sovereign state. The country remained divided into princely states which were lost in their own world and that is why we lost the battles and ultimately we were subjugated.

It is for the first time after centuries, that the entire land of the country spanning from Ladakh to Andaman and Nicobar Islands have come under one national flag. This is something to be proud of that Indian republic exists with all its glory. It is a matter of pride as well as of responsibility. The boundaries of the republic should be protected. India should prosper and everybody should get equal share in its prosperity and there should be social equality and harmony. You have mentioned that it is a country of contradictions but it has an unique capability and power to create an atmosphere of coordination and harmony amidst all, contradictions.

There are many diversities. Prophecies were made that India will not remain united. It was divided in 500 princely states. The prophets of doom were proclaiming that for the first time it was the Britishers who divided India and now it would be Indians themselves who would divide their nation for the second time. Their prophecies proved to be wrong. Now we are standing as a Republic.

Our second achievement has been that we have protected the democracy, we are moving forward on the path of democracy. We have made efforts to make democracy a success. There was a prophecy even in this regard. It is a country of diversities—here people are illiterate, they are poor and they don't know how to exercise their right to vote, they are divided on communal lines. You have made a mention of all these things very effectively. By exercising the right to vote, the people have changed the Governments. Political power did exchange hands. Democracy is our base. It is the most vital factor that strengthen our unity. However, it is something different that in 1975–76 our democracy was at stake. It was facing a stigma.

Today we are talking of apology in all the matters. Those who were put behind the bars for 19 months after the emergency was clamped in 1975–76 include leaders like Jai Prakash Narayan and Morarji Bhai. Some of those who suffered are sitting on that side of the House also.

For that also the person responsible for it must apologise. At least we should resolve that we would not allow our democracy to be endangered once again. I am talking about the threat that our democracy is actually facing not on account of the common man who has full faith in it, but on account of those on whom he has trusted. An hon'ble Member of Election Commission has given some facts and figures regarding the criminalisation of politics, which have been published in the newspapers and which I also have gone through, these figures are starting. It gives the complete account of the numbers of criminals who have been elected to various institutions, and also the account of legal and illegal arms seized before the elections. Where are we going?

Mr. Speaker Sir, I have been closely watching this change. I have been eyewitness to it. Earlier the criminals used to come to us for help, now they come to us to help us. We started taking their help to win elections and to capture the polling booths. Now scientific rigging is taking place. Rigging has its own science. It is also an art. I myself have been a victim to it. I would not like to go into its details as to how they tried to defeat me. Initially criminals were needed for rigging the elections, later on the criminals themselves felt that if politicians could win election with their assistance then why they should not contest and win the elections. What is the need to send these people there?

We shall have to fight against this tendency. The Election Commission have taken certain steps but these are not sufficient. There should be some original thinking on it. Political parties should ensure that the people with criminal records do not get election tickets. No single party can decide unilaterally. Some times, it becomes necessary to field a criminal against another criminal to ensure the defeat of one of them. This is a dangerous trend. It has to be curbed. How to check the criminalisation of politics? It is an issue of serious concern. It is affecting our democracy.

The second threat is that of increasing election expenses. The ceiling of expenditure imposed by the Election Commission has been raised. It is said that it is a realistic step but from where this money would come for contesting elections. The elections are becoming increasingly expensive.

Mr. Speaker, Sir I was elected to Lok Sabha for the first time in 1957. I had only two jeeps. The one was provided by the party and the other was arranged by the local people and I had won the election. The worker used to go on cycle. There was a practice of going for door to door convassing. The practice was to contact each voter. Now no one is ready to go on cycle for this purpose. Now even two jeeps are not sufficient for it. Now they want two hundred jeeps for this job. I have seen such Constituencies where as many as 200 jeeps were used. From where do these come? Who bears their expenses. Can we contest and win elections without black money? Perhaps only a few people will come under this category.

Electoral reforms have been a point of discussion since last many years. Dinesh Goswami Committee was constituted in 1990, I would not like to make a reference to it. That is the problem. The recommendation of public funding was not accepted. Merely giving some petrol and electoral roll are not sufficient. We do not want to contest elections with black money but we want to contest elections. How can we do that?

12.00 hrs.

We are receiving money from abroad. Whether in future, elections would be contested with the help of black money in the country and the money received from abroad? But what sort of repercussions this will have on the democracy and where would this lead our nation to? There is a need to give a serious thought to the matter and there is a need to take a prompt decision in this regard. Serious consideration should be given to the option of public funding. Many assumption have been made. Every year Rs. one crore is being provided to the MPs for undertaking developmental works. It is not necessary to hold elections in the fair way for the progress of democracy. Whether it is not possible to make a provision of Rs. 500 crore or 1000 crores every year in the budget as Corpus amount so that it could be utilised later on during elections. A large amount would not be required for the purpose.

A close watch needs to be kept on the accounts of political parties. They should be compelled to maintain the account of money they receive from a number of sources. The people should be allowed to check their accounts and a public audit of these accounts should be conducted. No Political Party should have the right to play with the destiny of the nation.

There is a need to give a serious consideration to make changes in the electoral system. Many suggestions have been received in this connection. I don't want to go into it in details. One such suggestion is that 50 per cent of the members should be directly elected from the constituencies and another 50 per cent of the seats can be filled through the proportional representation. List system can be used for 50 per cent seats. This will help reduce the expenditure. Then there will be a little scope for people having narrow loyalty. The people will attach

themselves with the parties, not with any individual. In democracy, the structure of the party set up should be strong. On the lines of Britain where the members of political parties is very small and limited, we cannot limit the number of our political parties. However we can take steps to strengthen our party set up. In case this suggestion does not fit in the Supreme Court verdict stressing the need for change in the basic structure of the constitution, then other methods can be devised.

The third issue which I would like to mention is that corruption is the biggest threat to our democracy. The hon. President in his maiden speech in the jampacked Central Hall before the audience anxiously awaiting to hear him had referred to what Gandhiji had said during his life time, before his assassination in regard to fight against the monster of corruption. This monster of corruption is now going to devour us. Even the speech of Prime Minister from the ramparts of the Red Fort was against corruption. I don't want to quote it. Shri Gujral had said—"Satyagrah will be resorted to fight corruption and bribery".

The concept of *satyagrah* has been borrowed from Gandhiji. It is undoubtedly a welcome one. But Gandhiji before asking others to go in for satyagrah used to come forward himself to lead them. But now how the Satyagrah will start and what steps will be taken for that. What has been done so far since 15th August. Many days have passed since then. We hear that a cell has been created in the Prime Minister's Office for this purpose. But what purpose is going to be served by the creation of the cell when the entire system is plagued by corruption. I do not know as to what exactly this cell will do but we should be hopeful about it that it will do something.

The lost confidence of the people can be restored not by making speeches but through prompt action. According to an English daily 'The Indian Express' in 149 cases of corruption examined by CBI, they are seeking permission from the Prime Minister's Office to file chargesheets or launch prosecution but the same is not being given. The number of such cases is 194. I want to know what is the fact. Prompt action should be taken in corruption cases.

Shrimati Indira Gandhi had once said that corruption is an international phenomenon. She was not wrong. Where there is democracy, corruption flourishes there. In the same way where flowers bloom, there is always a chance of wild growth. But an efficient gardener keeps a watch on such growth. In the cases of corruption in U.S.A. we have seen that the President had to resign and the Vice-President also had to relinquish his post on this account. In Japan too the Prime Minister had to undergo imprisonment and in Korea the President or the Prime Minister was awarded death sentence. In Italy also, the Ministers were sent to jail. In our country, also steps have been taken against corruption. I do not say that nothing has been done in this regard but steps taken have been tardy and with a hitch. While taking action against the corruption it is also being evaluated as to what impact it will have on the power equation in the country. It is not a question of power but the question of taking care of the dignity of the country. This is a question of maintaining the honour of our Republic.

What happened to the Lok Pal Bill? I do not know as to why its introduction in being delayed. There should be an open discussion. A suggestion was given that all politicians should give full details of their assets. Everything should come before the people. Merely giving details of our assets will not suffice. One should be required to give details of the assets of one's relatives also. It is not the Einstein's theory, but "Indian Theory of Relativity" which requires the declaration of assets first in the case of the relatives of the politicians so as to make it clear how his relatives or kins of a politician have become richest within a very short span of time after he gets elected.

THE MINISTER OF DEFENCE (SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV): You don't have a family.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Whether they get blessings of goddess Laxmi overnight or do they perform any miracle. I do not understand as to why Shri Mulayam Singh is interrupting me?

SHRI MULAYAM SINGH YADAV : I am saying that you don't have a family.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : I am not saying these things because I myself don't have a family. But I have seen how the people having family oblige their relatives. It should be checked.

SHRI ILIYAS AZMI (Shahabad) : Now after leaders please speak also about our bureaucrats.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : Yes, why not? We are discussing about the corruption which is prevailing from top to bottom—in which our leaders and bureaucrats, both are deeply plunged. But if our politicians are scam tainted and if their lives are not transparent then how the things will go on. Bureaucrats should be warned and action should be taken against them. But in the present situation it will not have that moral force that can change the society or even the entire system. This is not merely a matter of enacting laws. In a democracy a particular

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atmosphere is required for it because it is a system which is based on morality and for that reason the system is endangered.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, you have given a call for launching a second struggle for freedom so that India of our dreams could be built in which there would be no fear of hunger or corruption. Creation of such India is awaiting our efforts. We claim to be the largest democracy of the world and that is correct from the viewpoint of our population. But what opinion a foreigner would form about our democracy if he is given a chance to see the proceedings of this House especially on the day when our Members take part in the debate over enthusiastically.

I have written a letter to leaders of various political parties in the House and have also been raising this demand and again over the years that whatever party be in power the proceedings of the House should go on a decent manner if we want to influence the people and atmosphere outside the House. Is it, necessary to, make noise during the Question Hour? in fact it is a time meant for the members in which they can put an hon. Minister in the dock but it is used as a means for drawing attention and creating news. In order to come in the limelight, we have become indifferent towards democracy. I have given three suggestions. Firstly, there should be no disturbance during the Question Hour and no one should go into the well of the House. There should not be any interruptions during the Presidential Address.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I have been a Member of this House since 1957 and seen you exercising your authority on that day. We are in a state of 'na dainyam na Palayanam'. We can not escape it. Sometimes I feel that amidst noisy scenes I should not sit in the House. We can't escape it but we can take certain corrective measures to check it. Is it necessary to go to the well just to create news for the press. Even without that we can do. Even media should be accustomed to it. What will our new generation say on our behaviour in the legislatures. When we engage in hurling chappals or creating dramas and by laying somebody on the table like a dead body. I am not blaming any particular political party. I have discussed this issue within my party also. Chatterjeeji knows it that I accept my defeat because they say that other parties do not stop their members. But I say that even if other parties do not stop their members, at least you should refrain from such misconduct. However, we the members of all political parties may take a unanimous decision in this regard. We should start it from this House itself to save our democracy. That should form part of our behaviour. The members who are in power today will not be here for ever, they may change. But decency and ideal behaviour of members are the only prerequisite for the progress of this largest democracy of the world.

You mentioned in your speech how much time we waste in shouting. Firstly, the laws are not enacted. Perhaps, the Government thinks that the laws if enacted would be violated, therefore it is better not to enact any laws. No discussion is held on serious issues. We all are listening all the speeches quite calmly because this is a Special Session convened by you. Otherwise whenever it is the time of discussing serious issue, the House remains empty. Quorum bell has to be rung. I wanted to have a discussion on National Security. We don't have any opportunity to discuss Defence Budget. Similar is the case in espect of the demands for grants pertaining to the Ministry of External Affairs.

You have given me an opportunity to speak. I am confident that we would also discuss an important issue of increasing population and some decisions would be taken in this regard. There are a number of questions which still remain unanswered. We are facing a number of challenges. Our old tradition of working together with a general consensus irrespective of our political differences is the actual basis of democracy. We have not imported it. We have our age old concept of 'panch parmeshwar'. In those days decisions were taken after long discussion. That is the legacy of this nation. But we have converted our National Panchayat into a fish market. This state of affairs should change. While taking stock of the situation in this four day Special Session, we have come to a conclusion that though we have made achievements, and we can be proud of them but general expectations and requirements of our people are even more than what we have achieved. And if we all fail to meet their expectations and requirements then the coming generation would never forgive us.

MR. SPEAKER : Would you say something on your third suggestion? You were to give three suggestions. Two of them you made and as regards the third one, regarding the Presidential Address you have not yet said anything.

SHRI ATAL BIHARI VAJPAYEE : The third suggestion is that when the Hon'ble President comes to address the Joint Session, no unruly scenes should be created at that time. But I realised that there is unanimity on this point and we are taking care of this aspect to this day. But the two suggestions that I have already made are very important and relate to you.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Motion moved:

"That this House do consider the state of our democracy and democratic institutions, the economic situation, the position of infrastructure, achievements and potential in the field of science and technology and the state of human development in the country."

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA

[Translation]

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA (Gwalior) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, 50 years ago ...*(Interruptions)* yes Sir, I would like to thank you for providing an opportunity to two speakers hailing from Gwalior to open such a special session which should be marked by broader vision and attitude. After having serious discussion on the issues causing damage to the national interests, we should unitedly resolve that we whould make sincere efforts to revive that tradition through which we would be able to translate the dreams of freedom fighters into reality.

Our nation became free after breaking shackles of slavery 50 years ago and entered into an era of independence. Though our culture is five thousand years old, yet India stepped in the modern era only 50 years ago. This is the importance of that time and date. Today, I feel myself fortunate enough to be a Member of this august House on the occasion of 50th anniversary of our independence and have been provided an opportunity to participate in this discussion.

We should celebrate the 50th anniversary of our independence as a festival. It is the right time to remember those freedom fighters of our country who decided to sacrifice everything for the cause of freedom as a result of which our country is free today. I feel that I must bow down before those freedom fighters and remember their sacrifices and show my gratitude towards them on behalf of post-independence generation. Today, we should regain self-confidence after having a look at our achievements and successes.

Vajpayeeji stated that there is no shortage of devils of dooms in the country. We must evaluate our shortcomings but nobody can deny that this nation has certainly made progress and we have resolved that we would go on progressing. But we must build up our self confidence otherwise some time, the views of the devils of dooms will shatter our willpower and confidence and once the wiilpower of a country is shattered, that nation can never become a powerful nation. Theerefore, we must regain our confidence after having a look at our achievements.

It is also the right time for introspection and in that process, we should find out our shortcomings and resolve to make sincere efforts to rectify them. It is, therefore, historical moment and I would like to congratulate you for convening a special session on this occasion.

India has made a remarkable progress in the field of infrastructure and the basic amenities. India is the second largest country so far as technical skilled manpower and trained labour is concerned. As per the data provided by industrially advanced countries, India occupies tenth position in industry sector. We should be proud of our scientists in the field of science and technology because due to their efforts, India could enter the group of those few countries which have sent their satellites in the orbit of the earth. Our scientists have visited Antarcatica more than hundred times. India has attained success in atomic power for peaceful purposes. One of the every four software experts of the world in an Indian. India has several special features, achievements and successes to its credit. We should assess them and enthuse self-confidence in ourselves. We should instil the idea in our mind that no body can stop us from marching ahead. We should be sure about it that we shall continue to march forward.

We should also resolve that we would rectify our short-comings. Atalji mentioned about democracy. It is a great achievement in a country having a population to the tune of 95 crore. Democratic system worked here successfully. It is obvious from the fact that last year three Governments changed here within a period of two weeks without any hue and cry. Today, the voters are awakened and our press is working in a free and fair manner. Therefore, Sir, there should be no room for despair. As a party worker, I am proud of the fact that out of these 50 years, people of India provided an opportunity to Congress to serve the country for a period of 42 years. The Congress party provided some great leaders and illuminaries for the service of the nation Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru gave us the basic infrastructure as a result of which, we have the option to choose our

path. Indira Gandhi gave a new direction to the country and ensured that benefits of our achievements and infrastructure like big dams and big power station must reach to the common people. Sometimes misunderstanding engulfs the country. I belong to a rich family but I can state with full confidence that if a handful of rich families think that they can lead a happy life like an oasis in the desert of poverty for ever, they are living in a fool's paradise becuase a day will come when this oasis of rich will be engulfed by the desert of poverty. Indira Gandhi gave a new direction to the country and gave the slogan of 'Garibi Hatao'.

[English]

"Channelise the forces towards the removal of poverty"

[Translation]

It is a great thing. Then came our popular leader Rajiv Gandhi who tried to give India a modern look on this basis. On the basis of old infrastrucutre of the culture, he tried to the rebuild the nation so that India may occupy front seat in the modern age. I today feel pride on those great leaders and party workers who enthused power and force in the country. Even today, I can say that I am proud of my party that it has its representative in each village even in the areas where the Congress party faced defeat. There is not a single village where the congress does not have its representative.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the people of the country can lead a respectable life. I remember my maiden bid in the politics when I joined politics in 1965–66. That time, there was grave famine in the country. Our representatives had to visit Washington and beg for assistance and save the starving population of the nation with P.I. 480 foodgrain. Smt. Indira Gandhi took a pledge at that time that this situation would not be allowed to recur in future. She raise the slogan of 'Green Revolution'. The farmers and agricultural workers of the country made it self-reliant in foodgrain production with their hard toil. Today, the country produces 200 million tonnes of foodgrain but we have to look towards the next 50 years.

The country is very rich in nature and natural resources. On the basis of that, the future of the Nation can be made bright in the next 50 years. But we can make the nation strong by paying heed to four points:—

[English]

We must strengthen the country on four points:—

A country to progress must be politically strong and stable. A country to progress must be socially united. A country to progress must be militarily strong, Mr. Defence Minister.

[Translation]

We would have to be strong from the point of view of military strength and political, social, military and economic strength or economic development are the four points. Today, when we see at national level, we find political instability. Regionalism is being promoted. There is criminalisation of politics. The venom of

[English]

four C's– *i.e.*, criminalisation of politics, corruption, casteism and communalism had permeated.

[Translation]

Atalji has thrown light on it. I support the suggestion that we would have to take some steps. We would have to consider over it. Shri G.V.G. Krishnamurthy has given the suggestion to debar convicted people from the electoral process. We would have to take concrete steps in this direction. I have read in a newspaper that at present, out of 4000 MLAs, 700 MLAs are history-sheeters. Out of the 14000 candidates who contested election, 1500 candidates have criminal records and all of us affected from that. I am not talking about any particular party. I am saying that when we see corruption, we would have to take concrete steps against that.

Just now, Atalji talked about the anouncement made by Gujralji from the ramparts of Red Fort. On the one hand, the talked about crusade against corruption and after that he commented that only taking would not suffice. We must do something in this regard. I believe in it and expect that you would also give guidance in this regard. You should make efforts in Rajasthan and Maharashtra and give us guidance. Wherever you are in power, at least you can make effort there. you should guide us because it is not an easy way and I ...*(Interruptions]* Yes Sir, Madhya Pradesh. ...*(Interruptions)* I do not want to say more. I do not want to go in party issue. I am tyring to rise above party considerations. Atalji has also talked about emergency. I am not to say anything. ...*(Interruptions)* But we have seen BJP rule in Madhya Pradesh also. I do not want to say anything. We say that all of us are infested with these maladies. All of us shall have to find a wayout. We do not say that certain party is pure. We are a part of the society. We have not come from the sky. We reflect the picture of the society and therefore, we all are affected. Brothers and sisters, please do not say that this is a party issue. So far as corruption is concerned, we would have to take concrete

steps but alongwith it we should keep it in mind that wherever we find corruption, we shoud oppose it strongly.

[English]

But do not make it your single point programme on the national agenda.

[Translation]

There are many other important points in national agenda. They should also be included and priority should be given to them under national agenda. But if we talk about only one thing leaving aside all other issues then, it would not be proper in my view. No stone should be left unturned to wipe out corruption. But our image is becoming such that sometimes it is difficult to answer. The BBC broadcast my interview on the night of 14th August. During three minutes, interview, the interviewer did not give me time for reply.

[English]

He only said—"Mr. Scindia, you are the eighth most corrupt nation in the world." Do we want to be called that?

[Translation]

We should fight, we should struggle, we should punish the guilty persons.

[English]

But this is not the only item on the agenda.

[Translation]

It is our first duty to wipe out corruption but alongwith it our other issues should not be ignored. I wanted to say this to the correspondent of BBC, I could not find time. It is not that there is no corruption in other countries. Atalji has also said so. But you should praise us that we fight corruption in a transparent way in an open society. We do admit it.

[English]

This is something you must compliment us and, not criticise us for it.

[Translation]

Some Members of Parliament take bribe for asking questions in Great Britain, but we do not say that.

[English]

Great Britain is the most corrupt nation in the world.

[Translation]

Therefore we would have to keep balance.

Sir, an effort is being made to disturb our social justice and social unity. It is being fragmented.

[English]

We are atomising our politics—the atomisation of Indian politics.

[Translation]

Had this situation and tendency persisted 50 years ago, we would not have been able to free ourselves from the yoke of foreign rule. We could free ourselves from British rule when respectable Bapuji united the whole nation by rising above the considerations of caste, religion, region and linguishtic differences because the nation was united. Unfortunately, atomisation, the process of disintegration has now started. It is necessary to check it. What is not being done in the name of religion? Maryada Pursotam Ram has also been dragged into politics. As a Hindu I object that our all pervading religion has been confined in a narrow precincts by some parties and elements. I would like to remind those parties and elements that Hindu religion is very liberal. Our tradition was to bring up the people of each caste, religion, region and to provide them opportunity for leading a normal life and life of equality. This narrowness was never in this religion. While feeling proud on his religion Swami Vivekanand had said:

[English]

"My religion gives me the right."

[Translation]

It gives me this right that I can go with my Christian brother to church and salute the cross, I can go to mosque with my Muslim brother, I can listen to the sermon of Lord Budha with my Budhist brothers and feel some relief and that I go to forest with my Hindu brother and meditate there. My religion gives me this right. I want to say that I have serious objection to the manner in which Hindu religion has been presented and the manner in which Hindu religion has been dragged into politics, we have to fight against such people.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, I want to say that I am proud of being a Hindu. But alongwith it, I also want to say that I feel proud that I live in such a country where a Muslim can be proud of Islam, Christians can be proud of Christ and Sikhs can worship Guru Nanak Dev. This is my country, what you have done for this country? What efforts

you have made? I do not want to name any party, but it should be understood by those who can understand it.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the secularism in the country has become an anti-slogan. Now people think that secularism is just an issue for discussions.

[English]

A body has to be given to that secularism.

[Translation]

We will have to take concrete steps for minorities and it is in the interest of majority community. Moreover, minorities would feel secure thereby. We will have to take such steps in the interest of the minorities so that they can consider themselves as the citizens of this nation psychologically. So far as the field of education is concerned.

[English]

Let us have a Special education drive amongst the minorities. We must have a special education drive.

[Translation]

So far as the employment is concerned, it is only on papers that representation should be given to minorities in each selection committee but it is not being implemented.

[English]

Let us make it mandatory that no selection committee for PSUs or for Government service can meet unless there is a representative of the minorities present in that room.

[Translation]

Representation should also be given to them in the police forces so that confidence could be created among the people at the time of communal tension.

[English]

We must ensure that there is recruitment into the police forces.

[Translation]

Gujaral Committee on Urdu was set up for the propagation of Urdu. We have not implemented the recommendations of that Committee so far. Thereafter, Zafri Committee and Sarur Committee were constituted to implement the recommendations of the said committee but unfortunately the recommendations of these committees too were not implemented. Urdu should be promoted.

[English]

We must make everyone feel that they are an integral part of the nation-building process.

[Translation]

I feel that it should be our aim that this nation is strengthened and it achieves success. We will have to concentrate on it. We feel pride that Backward classes have been given reservation. When Kesariji was Welfare Minister, a provision for reservation was made. You go to North, South block, and see the name plates installed there. We will have to accept this fact that there are many such classes, backward classes and other castes which have been deprived of their rights and decision making process. Hence the provision for reservation was made. The Congress always took initiative for the welfare of Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and we want that a separate Commission should be set up for the Scheduled Tribes. At the same time, benefits of the industrial activities going on in the tribal areas should directly percolate to the tribal people. Their cultural and spiritual identity should be protected.

From the social point of view, we have only one message and that is universalism. It has two basis. First, alleviation of poverty and secondly, providing social justice. We will have to accord priority to our policies, programmes and schemes which are meant for poverty alleviation and social justice. I will not speak much on the questions related to economic matters. There are only some differences of opinion on this issue. Open-ended globalization, liberalised economic policies must be implemented in certain fields. Unless the facilities of infrastructure, communications, power transport, ports and level playing field facilities are provided to Indian industries, they may be taken over by Multi-national Companies. Recently, I read in the newspaper that in 1991, 15 out of 200 leading Indian companies were under the control of multinational companies, but today 50 out of 200 companies are under the control of these multinationals. I think that a time bound programme should be formulated for these industries.

[English]

Your cost of money is too expensive; it is too high, Your interest rates are high. You do not get power; power rates are higher than those prevail internationally.

[Translation]

If the above facilities are made available to Indian industries, within five years, Indian Workers will be able to face any kind of competition. Such facilities should be made available to them to make them strong. Till that time, we will have to work carefully. At the same time, a regulatory mechanism should be set up because in the absence of such a system, scams are taking place.

From the point of view of armed forces, I think it is an appropriate time because there is heavy firing from Pakistani side for the last two days. I am glad that our Defence Minister has announced that we want friendship with every one and if anyone attacks us, we would give a befitting reply. We praise our army jawans who are protecting our honour.

Sir, we must remember that we are a sovereign country and whatever steps hon'ble Prime Minister, Gujral Sahib wants to take from strategic point of view, he should take. There is no need for him to give explanation to anyone. When our 'Prithivi' Missile was moved from Hyderabad, Washington Post leaked it. Then, we had to give an explanation that it was not being deployed on the border and instead the missile was only at storage base. We would like Prithvi Missile to be deployed on the border. When were a sovereign country, why it should not be deployed on the border? When the issue related to technological demonstration of 'Agni' was raised, a few days back the Hon'ble Defence Minister had explained that now technological demonstration would not be conducted. We are a sovereign country.

[English]

We are a sovereign state. We have right to safeguard our frontiers. Let us deploy our military might.

[Translation]

It does not mean that we want to attack other countries. We want that there should be friendship.

[English]

But we want to extend the hand of friendship, Mr. Prime Minister, from a position of strength.

[Translation]

After making our position strong we would like to extend the hand of friendship.

[English]

So Militarily, let us not hesitate.

[Translation]

We do not want to attack anyone, but there is no need to give explanation to anyone, be it the most powerful nation. China has deployed S.S Missile. Pakistan has test-fired Hatf Missile-III with a striking range of 800 Kms. We will have to re-consider our nuclear option from time to time. You have not signed on C.T.B.T., we praise you for that.

[English]

America had conducted some firing tests after signing the CTBT to refine its nuclear weapons within the CTBT.

[Translation]

At last, I would like to submit that the world is changing very fast. If there are differences among us, nobody has time to intervene and remove them. We will have to adopt constructive and positive approach. I am confident that not only the Members but our citizens would also cooperate in the implementation of the agenda which would emerge in this session. I would like to present a small agenda before you which I have prepared. It includes universalization of elementary education on the basis of values, total literacy drive and medical facility to all. These programmes should be implemented in a phased manner. These should be implemented by year 2005 or 2010. At present, 33 percent blind people of the world are in India. We should maintain a balance by laying special emphasis on upholding the rule of law, fundamental rights and human rights. This balance will have to be maintained among the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. Sometimes, certain incidents cause concern.

Whether it is the Executive, the legislative or the judiciary we will have to exercise a mature self-restraint. Attention must be paid towards fighting corruption and criminal charges. It is necessary to make changes in Election laws. Just now, Vajpayee ji has given very good suggestions in this regard. Under the process of decentralisation of power, Rajiv ji had initiated a legislation for the empowerment of women. We are of the view that it must be implemented in the State Assemblies and in Parliament also. There is a big controversy on this issue. It can be resolved. Discussion should be held on it so that the legislation is not passed in an acrimonious and agitated atmosphere. The changes should be brought with mutual consensus, but there must be empowerment of women. In the capacity of Human Resources Development Minister, I had made a commitment in this regard in Beijing as well as in Bali. We will have to adopt pragmatic liberalization which suits the country, feasible liberalisation, rural development and rural infrastructure and

decentralization of power. We shall have to bring about delegation of authority but with accountability particularly in bureaucracy. On the issues of defence and security we will have to make our position strong while extending the hand of friendship.

In the end, we will have to create a technologically advanced society and nation which would be always on alert.

Mr. Speaker, Sir while paying special attention towards information, communications and space, I would like to thank you once again for giving me this opportunity. I would like to speak for five minutes more. We must feel proud of our country, this feeling must come out of in the heart.

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : You have already taken 39 minutes.

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA : You have allowed me to speak for 40 minutes.

MR. SPEAKER : You have taken 39 minutes. One minute more.

[Translation]

SHRI MADHAVRAO SCINDIA : Our nation is five thousand years old. In third century B.C. there is a mention of 'Sushrut' (the compiler of a famous treatise on Hindu medicine and pathology, caesarian surgery and surgical instruments) Zero concept had developed in India during Gupta Period in Fourth Century A.D. and in that particular century, the concept of decimal point, which is still called 'Hindusar' in Arabian countries has developed in India. 'Hindusar' has its genisis in India. In the Seventh century a Chinese explorer Hiuen Tsang has talked about Nalanda. It was our greatness. The present generation will have to take a decision and resolve in this session because we are sitting here as the representative of this Nation. This generation will have to launch

[English]

the second freedom struggle from hunger, deprivation and poverty towards development.

[Translation]

While taking inspiration from our freedom struggle let us resolve in the 50th year of our independence to place India in the front row of the world. If we have confidence and determination, no power in the world can take us away from our path of struggle.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV

SHRI SHARAD YADAV (Madhepura) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, your hopes should form the basis of our future course of action. The speeches made by you as well as Shri Atalji and Scindia ji have pointed towards our drawbacks and achievements. I will try to confine myself within the time limit.

We have spent fifty years. We must be proud of our achievements during those fifty years. Today, the position of our country in comparison to other countries of the world. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. SPEAKER : Let there be order in the House.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : We should think about our country with that comparison. Where do we stand today? We have also enjoyed the fruits of scientific inventions which have taken place all over the world.

13.00 hrs.

If we feel pride on such development, then it will be a great injustice. We must proceed further without neglecting a large part of this country. I am not blaming anyone, nor do I want to criticize anyone. When the country became Independent after thousands of years of struggle and particularly when the country is celebrating 50th year of our Independence, we will certainly have to face the maladies. Today there is coalition government. What were the circumstances which prompted formation of a coalition government? We are working on the basis of the achievements of these fifty years. What is our position today?

13.02 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

What is our position in the matter of poverty, unemployment, average G.D.P. in comparison to the other countries of the world? If we make comparison, we will

not find our position sound. We should think about what we have to do in the coming fifty years in the country. I associate myself with the views expressed by Shri Atalji and Shri Scindia ji. Today there is poverty in our country. We have an army of unemployed youths who have more or less influence on politics also.

Poverty is increasing. We have so far not been able to provide foodgrains at half the price to the people living below poverty line. We have brought green revolution. Foodgrains is available in the country but we would have to think about that instrument. There is state power and arrangements have been made but we will have to think as to why people are hungry despite the availability of foodgrains.

Our country has all type of resources, be it the human resources, we have the maximum skill. Keeping in view this potential, we should prepare future plans I think that if we want to make progress then we will have to ponder over the means through which we have improved the life of the people in some parts of the country. This country is full of mineral resources be it iron ore, mica, copper and coal. Coal is such a material which will deplete. We will have to ponder over seriously with regard to the oil since the country has been facing adverse situation due to oil. Today we are in the power, therefore we are being criticised but the issue of oil should be pondered over seriously as to how we can be self-reliant in the oil sector. This problem must be tackled because in future we shall be consuming more and more oil. Our people consume much oil, half of it is produced here and the rest half is imported. We have to see what we have in this country on the basis of which we can make progress. This is the problem. I would not like to go into the details of all these things.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, there are three things in this country, which are most powerful. 60–70 percent people of our country reside in villages and they depend on cultivation. About 8 or 9 percent people are engaged in handicraft without having employment, they repair locks make brass utensils or wooden items or are involved in other handicrafts, 9 per cent people are engaged in traditional business and if all like blacksmith, carpenter, potter are combined they constitute upto 11 per cent. 80 per cent population of our country is involved in production work. We have made missiles in 50 years under the policies followed during this period. We have made progress and have brought car, train and engines. If we want to term it as development then I do not have any objection. But we are not going in right direction. If cycle has been developed in a country and has come to India then it cannot be termed as development for our country. Many inventions are taking place all over the world and if by virtue of being a part of this planet, we are savouring the fruit of these developments, then we cannot say that we have made development.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit one more thing that I was listening the speech of Atal ji that we have many things to be proud of but even after all this pride, where do we stand in the world? Today the hon. Prime Minister is from our party. Tomorrow, Atal ji may become. Earlier Narasimha Rao ji was the Prime Minister. He visited America. I had been going through the news papers and had been inquiring from my friends as to what was being published about his America visit and on which page. I regularly used to enquire about it. But the importance which should have been accorded was not given to him. Why it was so? When Chinese premier visits any country of the world, he commands more power and importance. That country is equal to ours. I would not like to go into the details of all these things. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir but I would like to submit one thing that today our country has three things, fields, villages and artisans. The ideal of our freedom struggle was how to remove the economic and social disparity. The aim of freedom was to attain economic and social freedom and we should ponder over whether we have followed the economic principles formed during that struggle. Had we followed those, the country would not have been in this condition. There is shortage of oil in our country. Coal is not going to last for ever. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I would like to submit in this House that in the ensuing decade the issue of water resources would be the important issue. This country has more human resources and water in the world. We have not tapped these. We have tried all types of systems during 50 years. Today there is the communist, rightist or the leftist set up in Europe. We have not adopted any system whole-heartedly and by doing so, we have been in a predicament. We have never tried to ensure removal of social disparity as per the views of our ancestors and well-wishers during the freedom struggle.

There are three things available in our country - We have fertile land, abundance of water, big rivers and high mountains. But today we are producing electricity through gas. We have coal and various other resources of energy like big rivers but we have been operating generators with oil and almost half of the factories are being run on diesel. One can not find as much fertile land as is available in the plains of the Ganga and there water is available at the depth of 8–10 feet. We talk about big dams. If the farmers of this country are made available hydro-electricity then it would be better. Poverty is breeding ground for mafia dishonesty and various sorts

of crimes. As long as there is poverty, we would not able to make progress. First of all we will have to change the character and the society of the country. We have not changed the society of this country after attaining freedom. During the last 50 years, we have made this biggest mistake. Had we cultivated the society on the basis of the dreams of our freedom fighters, the various maladies would not have cropped up.

It was being said in this House that there are about 40 members having criminals records in this House. I have gone through the data but we should look towards the good people also. Had we created a new society, these evils would not have emerged. Unless we create a new society a new human being cannot be formed. Corruption is being discussed here but in piece meal only. I had suggested that there should be a thorough discussion on corruption for one week in this House. We hold discussions on all topics here but it is in piecemeal. I want that a full discussion should be held on all topics. There should be no piecemeal discussion on corruption, development and other topics. We talk of electoral reforms, we talk of legal reforms. That is necessary. I don't say that it is not necessary but the way we hold discussions on corruption, it may be termed as piecemeal approach. There can be no bigger force than public opinion against corruption. Shri Jai Prakash ji had also called upon to fight against corruption but what was the outcome thereof? Public opinion could not be mobilised in totally at that time. Corruption is prevailing in the country today in connivance with State administration. Unless we keep state powers out of the ambit of corruption, we can't run a clean administration. The politicians are certainly the first who run the state administration so the responsibility first lies on these people. Despite corruption prevailing large scale in state power, we are beating the drum for democracy. So long as we do not have proper co-ordination between the two, any work in India cannot be completed, be it the development work, or the dream of a new India. The way corruption has stalled the developmental work in public life in the last 50 years, no other example could be found for that and there is no doubt about that. The Prime Minister has spoken on that. The President has spoken on that. Atalji has also spoken on that issue. They all spoke reasonably. We cannot forget that the people of the country and the Parliament have continuously struggled against it.

There is only one remedy for that—that is we have to think seriously as to how the country could be made prosperous, how the unemployed youth could be provided employment and how a man, who works in the fields and has never extended his hands before the government for a job and who did not ask for any funds or property from the state, should be made prosperous. It is only after this that developmental work can take place in the field of industry, trade, science and all other areas. I would say that if all factories of U.S.A. are set up in India, there all factories will be closed within 10 days. Who is going to purchase the goods manufactured in these factories, unless the purchasing power of our people is increased? So far as we people do not have purchasing power, it will be of no use to set up these factories here.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, wherever irrigation facilities have been made available for irrigating fields, you would observe that the incidents of atrocities and oppression have come down there. For instance, in Punjab, Haryana and in Western U.P., where irrigation facilities are available, the farmers of these areas are financially strong and they have been fighting for their rights. I mean to say that where life of village people has improved, there has been improvement in their living conditions also. Speeches have not improved the situation. You can set up a big plant like Bhilai at Jagdalpur but you will find labourer there for just seven-eight rupees. On the other hand the areas of Punjab, Haryana and the Western U.P. or Maharashtra, have progressed because irrigation facilities have been provided there from small or big dams or through lift irrigation facility. These irrigated areas have produced several farmer leaders.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I am an engineer. I can well understand the importance of water. I know how the condition of the country can be ameliorated by generating power from water. But, 50 years have passed and we have not been successful in striking an effective treaty with Nepal on sharing the rivers' waters. We are very rich in our water resources, we have fast flowing rivers and the width of the Gangas is vest wheel hydro-electricity could be generated by setting up small dams which can cater to the electricity requirement of the entire country. We have not made any efforts to construct dams on our rivers in order to irrigate our fields and generate electricity. Had we done, so, I think we would have more avenues of employment, business, industry and in all other areas we would have progressed and the picture of our country would have been different. Thus poverty, starvation and diseases would also have disappeared from our country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we have not made optimum utilisation of water resources which are available in abundance in our country. We have assigned a family with the work of grazing five goats, two cows and one buffalo and they sell one kilo of milk for seven rupees. On the other hand, we are faced with a different type of situation in which Rs. 12 are charged for a bottle of

water in our country. In a country where milk is cheaper than water, how could equality be brought about in that situation? On the one hand we get a kilo of milk for seven rupees and all members of a family earn seven rupees in a full day and on the other hand, an other family consumes 5–10 bottles of water costing Rs. 12/- each bottle in a day. How progress and equality could be brought about in such a situation?

This is also another face of India. If we want to raise the image of India to the pinnacte of glory and make it an ideal of development then we will have to do something in this regard. The people who drink water which cost Rs. 12 a bottle, who take pride in speaking alien language, creating their own costume, leading a different life-style travelling separate coaches of trains and carve a different route for journey cannot bring about any improvement in India and it will remain in its present shape. If we have to build our country, we should construct dams on rivers. Parliament of India should make a commitment in this regard. I can say it assertively if there will be a world war in future, it will be fought on the issue of water. Water is a precious commodity. There are disputes in our country on sharing of water of various rivers. Due to ongoing fighting among States on the matter of sharing of water of rivers, we are not able to make optimum utilisation of rivers' water. I want that water should be included in the Central list. The Parliament should adopt a Resolution that all States should get water from a river flowing in a particular State. Electricity should be generated from water all over the country. We cannot make our country march forward with the gas power-based electricity and coal based electricity. We have huge water resources. We have so many rivers which have glorified our culture and civilisation for years. These are the same rivers, the waters of these rivers has been used by all the people of society irrespective of their caste and creed. The water of Gangas, Yamuna, Narmada etc. has been used by every section of society. But we have not made optimum utilisation of our water resources which the nature has bestowed upon us in bounty.

I would like to say something about population, we have both flora and fauna. We had more spiritual people earlier. There are many such people present in this House today also. Should we not think as to why the people of this country feed milk to the idol of Ganapathi made of stone even after the advancement of science in fifty years and this rumour spreads like a wild fire across the country. I have seen photographs. It is claimed that literacy would bring about changes in this country. We donot consider a person who plays a sitar as a literate person, on who makes an ideal. He should be made literate. The Government has not opened even a handicraft university. Nine per cent of people are engaged in this trade. We earn maximum of our foreign exchange through handicrafts items. Jaswant ji is sitting here. Lots of varieties of cloth are available in his State, Rajasthan, we have a large number of stone carving artisans in Rajasthan. But we have not set up a university for Handicrafts. Daily we harp on the name of Mahatma Gandhi but when 50th anniversary of independence was being celebrated, on that day Gandhiji's statue was in dark. If I had been a photographer, I would have certainly clicked it in my camera. He was the person who had not only fought for economic and social Independence but had also fixed economic agenda for the country. We have forgotten Gandhiji and that is why we have made a mess of the country. On christmas day, people go to big hotels to enjoy disco. On the one hand, we talk about our Indian culture and tradition and on the other people like Shri Sarpotdar, who is sitting here, and Shri Bal Thackeray invite Michael Jackson to do stage performances. If we visit our tribal areas, we will find dances better than that performed by Michael Jackson there. If we had a will power, our culture would have dominated over the culture of white people. Our Gods are of dark complexion, whether it is Lord Krishna or Lord Rama, but now-a-days western culture is dominating everywhere and following that culture has become a matter of proud for the country. If America is displeased then things may go wrong for us. It's alright. Just now, Shri Scindia was asking for deployment of prithvi missiles. For instance, if a wrestler, who is strong and has done a lot of exercise, is asked to brave the speeding rail engine, then what will happen? He will be killed. We have to strengthen our county. We have shown our mettle to America for the first time on C.T.B.T. issue. We did it because we have sensed trouble. For this I would congratulate the government.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Yadav ji, please do not address the Members.

[English]

Please address the Chair.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I am just adding in what Shri Atal ji, Scindia ji and Mr. Speaker had said. I am not criticising. What I am saying is that our country is number one in poverty, starvation, begging, unemployment. As far as begging is concerned no one can compete with us at International level. We have control over its wholesale trade. If someone goes for external borrowing, then we say that it is wrong but when anybody collects money in the name of donation then we accept it as a

part of our culture. Just now, a debate was going on that heavy expenditure is incurred on elections. It is true. We collect donations to contest elections and Mr. Dy. Speaker, Sir, you don't know, if a person contests the election on cycle then the people say that he is a poor person. Shri Atal ji was saying that 200 jeeps are used in elections. If it is so, then we should stop this but simultaneously, efforts should also be made to change the society. The educated people also believe in miracles. As per their belief stone drinks milk. This is a miracle for them. Similarly, the people expect miracles from the leaders. They want an honest leader who could contest the elections with the funds raised by the people. Atal ji, and many other leaders from this House campaigned for me during my first election. I was in the prison at that time. The people collected funds and helped me to win the election. That was a time but now-a-days elections are contested with the help of big donations only. We fix certain target for every person. In this way donations are collected with active participation of people. If we talk about donations then it is likely that we may be arrested and sent to jail but we cannot tell a lie even if we are hanged for saying so. Now I will come to the point. Shri Atal ji was saying that 200 jeeps are being used in elections, this is because the people want it. If a candidate has 20, 30, 50, 70 or 100 jeeps with him then the people will be say that he is the strong candidate. If they are not satisfied even with this they will ask the leader to come in a helicopter. If the leader travels in a helicopter then he will get more votes. That means if a person is having more banners, posters, vehicles, then the people think that he is also a strong candidate. In this country we want leaders to do miracles. We want such a cow which eats less fodder but gives more milk and dung. We have developed such a culture of miracles. This is the country of miracles. Now-a-days, several leaders are meeting the astrologers to know about their future. It seems that there are number of aspirants for Prime Ministership. Many names are published in the newspaper for Prime Ministership. This post has been devalued to such an extent which was never witnessed in the world. Now-a-days everyone claims that he can become the Prime Minister. Today, situation is such. This is a disease and we will have to face it. We have seen people feeding milk to lord Ganesh's Idol and most of them were educated. Their photos were published in the newspaper. Hence, merely education cannot improve our culture, it can't stop our interest in miracles and blind faith. Our Prime Minister has said several times that we should have scientific temper. We have to develop such a temper. We watch Lord Bajrang Bali flying and Lord Krishna fighting in sea on TV. All this is nothing but imaginations. We could not do such a thing ever but todays electronic media has given the knowledge to bring such imaginations into real pictures. All these imaginations were false. These are being shown on Doordarshan. When I was sick, I watched Chandrakanta serial on Doordarshan. I saw a single person killing two-three hundred people, the person was lifting and throwing stone weighing two-three tonnes as if it is made up of a paper. If such absurd things are shown on national channel then how we can wipe out blind faith from the country. Mythological serials such as Jai Shiv Shankar is being telecast on Doordarshan. In our country, we have 36 crores gods and godess and the same number of tombs, graves and mazars are there, I am talking about all religions. We do not find gods-godess and mazar in such a large number anywhere in the world. If they really exist, then why don't they protect us and why don't they place our country on the top of the world.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Sharadji, only four minutes are left for you.

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I will conclude in four minutes. A debate should be conducted on this. If we continue to do all these things then how will we go ahead. I have a little time left. Usually I take two three hours to come to the point and that's why I was diverted from my topic. I wanted to say so many things which can be interpreted otherwise in the House, but there are many things which we can say in and outside this House. So much atrocities are being committed in the country as, I think, we will not find anywhere in the world. I have never visited any foreign country, not even Nepal. That's why I am disgusted.

I would like to say that we have water resources in abundance. We should utilise them properly. We should set up university where handicrafts training is imparted because that is our power and wealth. We should resolve in the house that we would impart handicrafts knowledge to the people of the country. Child labour issue was raised here just now. We should also define it. If a child doesn't start working on Banarasi sarees in childhood then after 12–13 years he will not be able to bring in artistic quality in his work. Indian sculptors are the glory of our nation and their magical fingers built the Taj and Khajraho. These very hands sculpt great statues out of hard stone but they do not get any formal education. These people should be provided formal education and we should help these people to come up. If we provide employment opportunities, market facilities and provide capital to them, it can given thrust to development in the country. Therefore, we must implement these two points and those who are expert in this art, may impart education to them.

Third issue relates to population. Only people do not make a nation but it also includes birds, animals, trees, rivers and all natural objects. But the human beings are causing great destruction to nature. I was staunch support of sterilization during emergency period. People used to make complaints to me of excesses bring committed on them and asked as to how their lineage would optimal in future. I told them that when doctor is not good, he would certainly comment commit excesses. First it we try to produce a good doctor than go in for sterlization, by then the population will touch 150 crores mark. If an 80 years old person is sterlized then what is wrong in it? Even a young person is sterlized then one person's lineage will not persist, so what difference will it make? Atal ji's lineage does not persist than ıat difference does it makes ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I have to make a few suggestions. Political parties should take up unanimous decision that after every meeting, a few minutes would be devoted to emphasise the need for checking population. The Government should call a all party meeting to devise way and means to contain population growth. This discussion will be meaningful only when we devise a pragmatic education policy this House itself is a glaring example in this regard. Now English speaking people do not wield much powers. I am expressing my own views, may be, others hold different views. May be top brass want more English knowing persons but I want to request you that it is a great achievement of our democracy that we changed three successive Governments but not a single Member shifted his on her loyalty. J.M.M. sort of cases do occur here. People say that the whole nation is corrupt but I want to emphasise that there are comparatively large number of honest and sincere people in politics than any other walk of life. We may get a survey conducted in this regard. Nationwide discussion should be initiated in this regard. At last I would like to say ...*(Interruptions)*

SHRI QAMARUL ISLAM (Gulbarga) : I am sure enough that this Government would last for five years.

[English]

.SHRI P.M. SAYEED (Lakshadweep) : Sir, he can continue his speech after the lunch.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : Have I got this much of time only. ...*(Interruptions)*

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Sharad Yadav, please conclude now.

[Translation]

SHRI SHARAD YADAV : I would like to ask all members of the ruling party and those of the opposition party as to how we will strengthen the economy of our country.

I would like to say that there has been social disparity in our caste based society for thousands of years. I do not want to go into the discussion whether it is wrong or right. But if it is social evil then why do we not pass a resolution in this regard during the golden jubilee celebrations to remove it. The caste based society has caused immence damage to the nation. Untill and unless we come out of the shackles of casteism in our society, we can—not remove disparity in the society. In our society, some people have always discarded manual labour and some people have been toiling hard to earn their bread for thousand years. Unless and untill we erase this bais, we can not exploit the full creativity and potential in our country. We made discoveries of zero, decimal etc. in ancient times but there has been none in modern times. In ancient India, castebased society was agreed concept as it makes the family. In India every person's first loyality is towards family. Shri Atal ji was speaking on family rule. India's whole literature, Whether it is Ramayana or Mahabharat, explains about family. Family relationship between family members are acute strong. Indian's first loyality is towards family and then religion, caste and country comes at fourth place. We should contemplate as to how the nation should be first in this order of preference. It is not possible untill and unless we dismantle the caste based structure in our society. To remove casteism, we should do away with all kinds of reservations and 50% reservation should be given to those who go in for intercaste marriages. It will go a long way in strengthening the country. At last I want to say that if we want to take the country ahead then, this House should ponder over four suggestions I have made here. We must give a serious thought to them and should also devise ways and means as to how to break this age old caste based structure of our society.

With these words, we should ponder over the four suggestions made by me about water, handicrafts, population and caste based society. Untill we do it we can not take our country forward. We must ponder over these issues because then only we can strengthen our society and the nation.

13.41 hrs.

The Lok Sabha then adjourned for Lunch till Forty-Five minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

14.49 hrs.

The Lok Sabha re-assembled after Lunch at Forty-Nine minutes past Fourteen of the Clock.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE

[English]

SHRI SOMNATH CHATTERJEE (Bolpur) : Mr. Speaker, Sir, truly this is a historic occasion. Knowing that we are meeting in a Special Session, in the Fiftieth Year of our Independence, I hope in a spirit of introspection and also dedication.

Sir, it is appropriate that we remember today and pay our homage to those sons and daughters of India, who made supreme sacrifices and also some of them bore the brunt of the attacks from foreign rulers so that our country can be free of shameful foreign domination.

I wish to humbly congratulate you for your speech today. You have made reference to various important aspects in a very thought-provoking speech. You have given a call for a second freedom struggle. We wish to respond to the same.

Fifty years ago, we came out of the strangulating and dehumanising slavery under a colonial imperialist power. On that great night of 14–15th August, 1947 one of the great leaders of our country Pandit Nehru reminded the nation of her tryst with destiny, of the daunting task to be performed by us of nation-building, of working towards providing *roti, kapda, makan* for every citizen, for the consolidation of our freedom and ultimately for economic emancipation of the country.

We have made many achievements during these fifty years. But have we really reached our potential? We are aware of the urges and aspirations of the people. This is the House where we try to articulate them, try to find our solutions for them, try to meet the urgent needs and the demands of the people. But have we been able to do it? Has the country with immense resources been able to provide the wherewithals to the people? If I may say so, you have rightly said that India is rich, but the people are poor. This contradiction has been plaguing the country's progress and development. That is why, I feel that a very serious discussion is needed and I do commend, with all humility, the effort that you have made in calling this special session to discuss various national issues which confront us today and for a solution of which the people are waiting and waiting.

I am one of those fortunate few who had the great privilege of witnessing the people's rejoicing and the people's enthusiasm on the 15th August 1947. But can be really say the same spirit of enthusiasm and the same spirit of rejoicing we have witnessed on the 15th August, 1947 still prevail? That spirit in full measure is now wanting. Should we not make a proper review and introspection? That is why, I felt that this is a unique opportunity which has been provided to us, Members of Parliament, to try to take stock of the situation and to find out as to why a country so rich in heritage, so rich in human and natural resources and with many great leaders to lead us, it still in a sense groping in dark. You have identified many of the issues. I do not wish to take too much of the time because many hon. Members of my Party are vary eager to participate and you have kindly observed that you would like to give opportunities to more Members to speak. But I would like very briefly to indicate some of the great issues which remained unsolved.

Starting with the date of independence, it was preceded by partition of India and that partition created untold sufferings to large number of people, from both Eastern Pakistan and Western Pakistan. Nearly eight million people then came over from East Pakistan to India.

Even today, even after fifty years, we have not been able to fully resettle them. I do not grudge whatever rehabilitation has been provided to those uprooted millions who came from other parts of the country, the undivided India. But this was an obligation which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru undertook. He assured the people of this country that every brother and sister who was coming to India would be treated with equal dignity, with equal opportunity. But, Sir, unfortunately that has not happened. This has remained a pestering wound in our body, in our social system. That also showed how the virus of communalism had gone deep and how even a country like India was divided on the basis of communalism. That is why I feel that those uprooted millions unfortunately became victims of partition. This is a problem which still remains to be satisfactorily solved.

We are talking of Gandhiji. Gandhiji envisioned that India, after Independence, would devote to *Lok Seva*, social service to wipe out tears from every eye. As a matter of fact, he went to the extent of suggesting that the then major political party should be wound up and be transformed into a social service organisation. I am not mentioning about the party but the approach which he wanted to be taken—the question of dedication to the cause of the people and for the service of the people. Why have we felt like this? Why in spite of such a great Constitution that has been made, have we felt like this? In many senses, it is a great Constitution. There are many lacunae. We have had numerous amendments to our Constitution. This Constitution, when it was made, even gave the right to property the status of a Fundamental Right. But this has been altered. There have been many amendments. Some of them have been rightly made and some of them not so rightly made. But it is necessary that we should think of our achievements, remember our achievements and we should appreciate the services rendered by various sections of the people, by the scientists, by our young men and women who have achieved greatness in many spheres of our life. But, in spite of that, why are we still lagging behind others?

We have set up an administrative machinery. I humbly feel—that is my submission before this august House—that the administrative set up that was thought for this country, namely a sort of a quasi-federal administration, has not served the country well. Here, we thought of a strong Centre because at that time it was thought that only a strong Centre can save the country from total disintegration. But, unfortunately, over the years, it has resulted in more and more power getting concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. This has resulted in over-centralisation and distortions in the smooth functioning of the Centre-State relations.

Sir, you are aware and all the hon. Members are aware that if we go through the Seventh Schedule of our constitution, we will see List-II and List-III, particularly List-II which shows what are the responsibilities of a State Government. Sir, you were the Chief Minister of a State. You are fully aware what are the responsibilities of State from providing education to roads, hospitals, health care and what not. Everything has to be provided by the State Government. But where are the resources? For resources, one has to come to the Centre. That is not the grievance of the State from which I come. But if we go through the deliberations of the National Development Council, we can find that every State, without any distinction, has been asking for more and more power, more and more financial resources and grater and greater voice in the national affairs. That has, unfortunately, not been properly sought to be rectified.

The Sarkaria Commission was set up to go into these aspects. The Sarkaria Commission made its recommendations a long time back.

15.00 hrs

But what have we done? Year after year, many sub-committees, groups etc., have been appointed to study these recommendations. But never has a concerted effort been made really to remove distortions in our body politik. We want a federal structure, a true federal structure where there will be unity of action and unity of thought and also unity of direction. There should be no confrontation between the States and the Centre. What we feel is that there should be healthy competition between the States who can serve better, who can serve more and more to the people of this country. Unfortunately, this over-centralisation of power has resulted in creating a class of over-lords and resulted in, what you have yourself pointed out today, as 'grossly uneven development' with more and more areas of darkness and a few pockets of prosperity.

You mentioned about Maharashtra and Gujarat in your speech today saying as to why the investments are going to these two States. But do we not ask ourselves or should we not ask ourselves why is this so? Has this helped this country in its proper development? Why have only one or two areas, out of so many States that this huge country has, been developed? Why are resources available only in one or two areas? What is the crime committed by our citizens or North-Eastern India or Eastern India or of Central India? Why should they not be given the same opportunities?

Today you say that people will go to those areas where there are adequate infrastructural facilities. But who has been responsible for these infrastructural facilities? Did we have a pan-Indian outlook? Did we ever think of having a real planning process which will bring about the sustained development in each and every inch of the territory of this country? Today, that is why, there are areas of division; there is distrust among the people, there are troubles of terrorism. The youth from various parts of this country are so dissatisfied that they are taking to arms. The ethnic troubles are there about the position, status and recognition of the groups. A sort of identify crisis has developed throughout the country which has not helped in the development of our country as a whole. People of different areas are clamouring for more opportunities, for more provisions for development, for greater role in governance and even to the extent of

asking for self-determination. It was believed—probably that is my understanding—and though by the Constitution-makers in this country that the Centre and States can be and will be ruled by the same party for ever in the future. This is not so. I think, that is no discredit to the people of this country. This is the country which is wedded to parliamentary democracy. People have openly voted. They have made their choices in different States and they wish to develop their States according to their own plans, their programmes and their own manifestos. But in the ultimate analysis, if we go, we shall find that some parts of our Constitution are found to be woefully wanting in protecting the rights of the States and also in asserting the identity of different sections of the people.

Now take the provisions of Article 356. This is one of the provisions which, if I may say so, is almost a blot on our Constitution. When we get affected, then we raise our voice. But unfortunately, when we are in power in the Centre, probably people do not give so much importance because this is a very handy weapon in some cases. But it has also been demeaning and creating a chasm between the States and the Centre. There is a feeling of mistrust and distrust. This has affected our national development and national unity. When people have chosen me to govern a State, it should be left to the people to decide whether to change that Government or not. This Article 356 ought to have been treated to be made applicable in case of grossest emergency.

Dr. B.R. Ambedkar said in the Constituent Assembly that 'I hope, it will never be brought into use'. He expressed his hope. But as a country, as a nascent nation, a newly developing country has just won her Independence after years and years of subjugation, slavery. Therefore, let there be some protection in the hands of the Central Government so that the lurking dangers of foreign invasion, etc., did not destabilize the country. Fifty years have gone by. This still is very much in our Constitution. Along with that, what even Sarkaria Commission has said, we find, is not fully adequate. Even the financial readjustment of powers between the Centre and the States has not been looked into which is sought to be corrected. And the Sarkaria Commission's Report still remains in some of the corridors, archives there. It is not being utilised.

The other thing is about the Emergency provision in the Constitution. The hon. Leader of the Opposition has rightly referred to how this country in these 50 years had gone through the trauma of losing its identity, losing its voice, losing its Independence as it were, and we came under the darkest days of Emergency, I believe, he rightly demanded that there should have been an expression of apology as we had demanded that there should be an expression of apology after what happened on 6th December, 1992 in that corner of Uttar Pradesh.

Sir we have also seen the 42nd amendment of the Constitution and how this country became almost a subject nation. The people lost their voice. Why am I referring to all this? Because these things have happened during our 50 years of Independence. When we should have been more concerned with the economic upliftment of the people of this country, we have been losing our political power, political sovereignty and some of the people are almost becoming second class citizen in this country.

I remember those days when I had the occasion to speak in this House during 1975 to 1977. I could not get a copy of my speech, even for correction. I am sure, it will be remembered by Shri Vajpayeeji also. Probably, he was also there. We could not even distribute our speeches outside. Nobody was able to even know what we had been saying inside the House.

Sir, happily those days are gone and I am sure and I can expect the commitment of all the parties that never, never in this country those days will come back again. The Constitution has been amended. Now, it is not so easy to do it.

Sir, there are three issues which the hon. Leader of the Opposition has rightly mentioned. I fully agree with him. One is with regard to the Electoral Reforms. I have had the privilege of being the Member of these Committees from 1971 onwards which were constituted by the then hon. Speaker. There all the recommendations made were unanimous. I remember only on one issue, there was some disagreement. The first part of the Report contained unanimous recommendations. But unfortunately, that was not implemented for years together. Then we had other Committees. Then we had the Dinesh Goswami Committee Report where almost unanimous recommendations were made. But even that was not implemented. We have been demanding for the State funding of elections. It seems, Sir, in some areas we are still thinking. Shri Sharad Yadav has said that 'probably we have created an impression that if a candidate has got 200 jeeps, he is a very strong candidate'. It is a great misfortune, if that is so. But I do not think, it is so. I generally agree with him but here I do not agree with him. The people are very discerning. They decide for themselves about whom to vote for. We could never dream of that the Congress of Mr. Indira Gandhi would be debated in such a manner or Shri Rajiv Gandhi with all his modern outlook and his commitment to the nation of course, he was fully committed, I am not questioning

at all his commitment to the nation—could not get the people's verdict. They lost power because they failed the people. The ordinary people rose almost in revolt and defeated those Governments.

But somehow an impression is being created that the greater the might that we show—as they say, array of jeeps, etc.—the more will be the mileage it will bring us in the election. I can claim credit with all humility that my Party candidates do not do that and cannot even dream of it. Therefore, it is not that everybody has to show his muscle power or money power, but we must commit ourselves to put up candidates against whom there is not even an iota of an allegation. This should be done and we should all commit ourselves to it as political parties. No parliamentary democracy—or, no democracy—can survive or function without political parties committed to certain ideologies. Certain common ideologies can be there namely that we shall not spend so much money in the elections. Therefore, let there be no competition in jeeps or motor cars or helicopters; let there be competition in ideologies and in our manifestos on how to attract people more and more with sincerity of approach and sincerity of beliefs. Therefore, it is essential and I fully agree with it. I am sure, with everybody's good wishes, all the political parties here can bring about the necessary electoral reforms. Let not black money blacken our democracy.

The other point he mentioned was about corruption. Who can deny it in this country lightly? There has been the first speech of our new Rashtrapati devoted substantially to corruption; the first speech of our Prime Minister on the Independence day also was devoted largely to corruption. Today, it is eating at the vitals of our body politic. There is not doubt about that. Today, we hang our heads in shame. The other day, I was reading some sort of an opinion poll as to whom the young people, who are growing up to be our leaders, to be our citizens in the future and who will be contributing to our development, mistrusted most. They said that they trusted the politicians the least. This is the state of affairs. Therefore, what we say what we discuss and what we do are having a credibility gap in the country. That is why I welcome this Session. Instead of mutual recrimination—I do not even mention the name of any Party—which we have had and can go on having in the next Session, since you have give us this opportunity, let us think how to do it, how to remove the stigma from the politician. That is why I have reservations about the sweeping generalisations which are being made by courts these days.

One former Chief Justice has said, Judicial activism has come to the fore as all politicians have lost sense of democracy. The politicians cannot be trusted; the administration cannot be trusted. Therefore, judicial activism has to be there. This type of sweeping generalisation is not helping the country. What do the people in this country think when a former Chief Justice of India or some highly placed judicial functionary tells the people of the country, 'because the Executive does not function, because the politicians do not function, because the Parliament is not able to provide the wherewithals to the people, therefore, we have come as a great messiah and a great rescuer'? This is creating a distortion.

I am not trying to give an impression that I understand more or that I am better than nobody else. It is farthest from my mind. But as a humble political worker, I feel that this is demeaning that anybody and everybody will show a finger at me and say, 'just because he is a politician, he is not to be trusted.' Therefore, all of us should put our heads together to see that this type of accusation is not there.

Yes, I agree, I have got the letter of Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee. I commit may Party to it. We agree to that code of conduct. Let it be formulated; let all the Parties agree to it. We do not mind.

Mr. Speaker, Sir, the other thing which is very important is the question of accountability. The very basis of our Constitution is the accountability of the Executive to this House and the accountability of this House to the people. But somehow, this accountability has lost all its significance. You have mentioned that in you speech also. Therefore, we should get back this accountability and enforce this accountability fully. This is our job also. So long as we are not able to get that accountability fully discharged by the Executive, we are failing in our duty. So, these are the issues which are very important.

I do not wish to go into the economic policy. Other hon. Members from our party will speak on that. But I will speak only one sentence. This is a country where we should not ever give up our commitment to secularism. Therefore, I expected, when there are leaders like Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Jaswant Singh, that they would have at least apologised for what happened on that day. There can be no compromise with this. Let that feeling be not there that people are differentiated on the basis of their religion. Our commitment to secularism can never be compromised and we must uphold this.

Recently, on another occasion I had spoken on having a national agenda. I think this is the occasion when I should talk of that—a national agenda for population control, as rightly emphasised by Shri Sharad Yadav.

for eradication of poverty and unemployment, for health care, compulsory education and solutions to women's problems. Now, we demand the women's reservation. Bill should be passed. At the same time, there should be a balanced development of the country. These are the issues which should be on the national agenda. I feel that on many of these issues there can be no difference of opinion between the parties. Nobody can deny in this country that we have to give a serious thought to the question of population growth. But what are we doing? may I ask with all humility, what are we doing to provide jobs to the people?

Sir, you have rightly referred to sick industry. The demoralised and dehumanised work force is likely to backlash on the very process of economic reforms. So much money is outstanding. They are not given their proper recognition. Dues of the people are not being paid. Sir, although we are committed to productivity and proper industrial relations, at the same time this burning issue should be settled.

Therefore, Sir, I humbly request that let this discussion be not just a discussion. Let a direction come out of it. On behalf of my party, I deeply appreciate that now there is a sincere attempt under your leadership to find out some common basis of action for the future. Fifty years is a long period even for a country. Fifty years which should have been formative years, fifty years of reconstruction and development, we have probably wasted much of it in directions which have not helped the people of this country.

Therefore, Mr. Speaker, Sir, I humbly appeal to all the sections of the people to let us join the second freedom struggle for which you have given a call.

SHRI PRAKASH VISHWANATH PARANJPE

SHRI PRAKASH VISHWANATH PARANJPE (Thane): Mr. Speaker, Sir, in this session we are going to discuss the basic problems of Hindustan. Before I discuss the basic problems of my nation, I would like to express my feelings about the first hand experience as an MP in this august House.

Sir, I was a Corporator in my constituency. After getting elected, my party supremo, Shri Balasaheb Thackeray had given me an advice saying that I had been elected for the Council, that I was the Trustee of that City, that he did not want any member making any political speech in the august House and that we should discuss about the issues of the City only, about the problems of the City and suggestions for improvement.

15.20 hrs.

[SHRI CHITTA BASU *in the Chair*]

We have been born and brought up with that thinking. I came to this august House with that same thought; and I was thinking that I could learn so many good things from the learned MPs of this august House who would be discussing the problems faced by my nation very seriously. But my ideas were shattered when I saw this August House being used as a political dais, one party criticising the second party and the second party criticising the third party and so on. In the whole one year, I have never heard any serious discussion about the problems faced by my Hindustani people.

When I was moving about in the Lobby, MPs were sitting together. I thought that they must be discussing the problems of my nation. But the worst part was that in the House there were criticisms amongst the parties and in the Lobby, there were criticism by different groups in one party.

Then from the Lobby, I went to the Central hall. I was very happy to see the big portraits of the leaders who have devoted their entire lives for the nation. But the shocking thing was that all the MPs have made the Central Hall a canteen. People are sitting there people are eating there and people are smoking there I was thinking that in the Central Hall, people must be discussing some serious issues, must be reading seriously and they must be taking advice from the elderly persons. But we have made a canteen of the Central Hall where we have the portraits of all the top leaders. All the top leaders must be watching the way the present MPs use the Central Hall. All the top leaders have said that we had to improve our image first.

The entire nation is looking at us as to what the political leaders do in this august House. So, my humble request to the Chair is to immediately stop the misuse of the Central Hall where I feel that something constructive should be discussed. No one should be allowed to smoke, to eat and take tea there. We have to preserve the

priorities of this nation. Why have the people sent us here? It is to solve their problems. I am quite hopeful that if we can have discipline amongst ourselves, we can talk about the discipline amongst the voters. The very first lesson that my father taught me was this. He said that when I was in the august House, if one elected Member was speaking, I had to simply raise my hand to attract the attention of the Chair, indicating that I also wanted to say something on the same issue. Only if the Chair permitted, I was supposed to speak. Adversely, here, the things were different. At a time, so many MPs are speaking; nobody is listening to others. Everybody wants to say that he is the final authority on the subject. We are not behaving in a disciplined way, but we are talking about the disciplined way in which our people should behave.

I am a very junior MP here. This is my first term in this august House. But this is my feeling. In one year, we have seen three Prime Ministers. This is the political status of our nation! I do not know how many more Prime Minister's would be taking oath in the remaining 3½ years of this Lok Sabha. Instead of solving the problems of the nation, if we behave like this and if we fight amongst ourselves, I do not think, we have got any moral right to say something about the nation.

I have said all these things in English. Hereafter, I am going to speak in Marathi which is my mother tongue.

[Translation]

*Mr Chairman Sir, fifty years have passed after gaining independence. Today we are discussing what we have achieved and what we did not achieve in the past 50 years and to what extent common man of this country has been benefited by getting independence. We talk of nationality but have we made any attempt to inculcate national spirit in our citizen so that he feels that he is the citizen of this nation. After getting freedom Swatantryveer Savarkar and Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had said. "Divide this India into four zones. Have only four Governors and only Parliament will be there". My purpose in speaking in Marathi is that my people from by constituency should know what I am speaking. But instead of adopting this policy we went in for formation of States on linguistic basis. So our citizen does not think that he is the citizen of this country but he thinks that he belongs to Madras, Gujarat, Bengal, Maharashtra, North India and so on and so forth. So after gaining independence instead of inculcating national spirit in our citizens, we only created narrow, parochial feelings in their minds. The citizen of this country feels proud of his State but not of his country. The State is important for everybody. Every Chief Minister fights for getting benefits for his State. But no Chief Minister thinks whether his efforts are going to benefit the country or not. No one thinks whether his decision is going to benefit the nation and solve the problems of the poor people. But one thinks whether it is going to benefit the State or not. No one even considers whether the decisions we are taking are going to be in the interest of the nation or not. Therefore, I feel that this House should reconsider the decision of formation of States on linguistic basis which was taken 50 years back.

We discuss several times that casteism should be removed. Disputes among various castes should be solved. But instead of finding solution to this problem we apply the criterion of caste while giving several concessions. Because one belongs to a particular caste he should get 5% reservation in education. Another caste should get 10% reservation in jobs. When a young person should become a citizen of this country a poison of casteism is injected in him. My son told me that students belonging to other castes say that other students should study hard to face competition. They need not work hard since they would get admission even if they score 60% of marks. This means when we ought to have created patriotic feeling in the minds of young persons we have been poisoning their minds by casteist feelings in the past 50 years. When the facility becomes right we are not moving towards development. We have experienced in the past 50 years that when a concession is demanded as right it stalls progress. Concessions on the basis of caste are there in education and employment. But if consideration of caste is going to be there in the matter of promotion also, then we have to think whether it is proper to apply criterion of caste in the matter of promotion. It would be unjust if a person gets promotion not because he is competent, but because he belongs to a particular caste. There are many such issues and Problems which have removed national feeling from our mind and instilled parochial and casteist feelings in us and ironically we give speeches here saying that we should do something for the nation. Therefore, I would like to request that if we really want to create national spirit we should stop these caste based reservations. Dr. Babasaheb Ambedkar had also said that these reservations should continue for a period of 15 years only and after that everybody should be treated on an equal footing. But I am sorry to say that consideration of caste, province are coming in the way of our progress. Therefore, it is my firm opinion that the caste based reservations should be stopped at least after 50 years of independence and the House should take a decision in this regard.

Mr. Chairman, Sir, ours is an agricultural country. In the country we can know of our agricultural income only after monsoon. Therefore, it is necessary that the Union Budget is presented after the monsoon season. So, instead of presenting the Union Budget in March, it should be presented around Dussehra so that we would know our agricultural income and it would be possible to

*Translation of the speech originally delivered in Marathi

implement the decisions taken in remaining 11 months. If this House does not make any fundamental changes, we are not going to achieve anything by having discussions.

I would like to highlight the issue of population. When we compare ourselves with China, we know as to what we have achieved and failed to achieve in the area of family planning. Scientists have opined that if we carry on family planning at the same pace, our population would double in 36 years. Do we have necessary resources to provide food, clothing and shelter to this growing population. What efforts are we making to augment our resources? How much land has been irrigated and how much agricultural production has increased as a result of it? There are many irrigation projects which are pending with the Central Government, 6 irrigation projects of Maharashtra Government are pending with Central Government for the past 3 years. If these projects are sanctioned thousands of hectares of land will become cultivable and give more agricultural yield. But we are not getting necessary cooperation from the Union Government in this regard. If we are not going to implement what we say, it will not lead to progress. We say poverty should be removed. But if we are not going to augment our food stock, increase irrigation potential and make land cultivable, we are not going to get results. We are not prepared to do this. Instead, we indulge in politics. If a State becomes rich in resources, the party ruling there may become strong. That is why much attention is not paid.

Sir, last point and I have done. There is a demand that petrol prices should be increased. We have gone in for privatisation. I have information that we have finalised the bidding of oil wells in 1992.

Sir, though the process of bidding had been completed in the year 1992 yet we have not permitted them to extract oils only because the paper work has not been complete. I would give the figures.

Sir, in the first round in 1992 we called the bids for 21 wells. Out of that only seven of them were finalised; two are under consideration and twelve of them have not at all been attended to. In case of smaller sites, we called for the bids of 31 wells and of them only 16 were finalised and 15 of them were not at all awarded. In case of the smaller sites, right from the year 1993, 27 bids were called for and only one bid was finalised and 26 were not awarded and because of that per day we are losing 40,000 barrels of crude oil.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude now.

SHRI PRAKASH VISHWANATH PARANJPE : Sir, I am making my last point. So per day—40,000 multiplied by 365 days (one year) multiplied by 5 years—we are losing foreign currency worth crores of rupees and we are not able to extract crores of metric tonnes of crude oil.

We are talking about increasing the prices but this is the data which is available with me. The bids have been called but they have not been finalised because of red tapeism. Would this Government tell me, why were the bids not finalised? Why were they not allowed to extract the oil and why have the Government too increase the rates of petrol, rock oil and gas?

MR. CHAIRMAN : You have made your point.

SHRI PRAKASH VISHWANATH PARANJPE : When there are natural resources and if only because of political motivation and red tapeism we are not giving justice to our own people in this country, then it is not fair on the part of the Administration not to allow the people to extract oil after five years.

Sir, there are so many problems which the nation is facing.

There are many problems in this country. But the Government has been a silent spectator in regard to these issues. We must take some decisions. We must change certain rules and regulations. If we do not do that then there is dark future ahead of this country. If we are assembling here, discussing something, give some slogans and not give concrete solution to the people, then these discussions are futile. If we have taken decision in the past 50 years and have not achieved any results, then we must think seriously of changing the decisions. This is my humble request.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA

[Translation]

THE MINISTER OF AGRICULTURE (SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA) : Mr. Chairman, Sir, first of all I would like to thank the Hon'ble Speaker for calling this special session and providing us an opportunity to discuss this issue.

The canvas of this debate is very vast. I would be happy if something comes out of this long debate. What would come out of it, would be known to us only at the end of the discussion. I agree with the Leader of Opposition Vajpayeeji that corruption has been eating

away the vitals and values of our social, political and economic life and for that steps are to be taken at the earliest. The Prime Minister and President have also given a call for that. This is also the opinion of the House that something must be done in this regard. I am of the opinion that Government would come forward with some concrete proposal to deal with it and such proposal would be presented before the House. We have to see as to how we can remove corruption. It cannot be done in a day or two. It would take a lot of time because corruption is widespread in our country from top to bottom. Therefore, suggestion in this regard can be given later on. I think the Government would be able to do it.

I have asked the officers of my Ministry to prepare details of the sensitive areas, where there is possibility of corruption in our department. I have also asked them to suggest institutional reform. There are many ways to deal with any corrupt individual, but if there is fault in the system itself, then what should be done to make change therein. Such suggestions should be made so that we may come out with a concrete proposal to make required change in the system.

The second question raised by Vajpayeeji is that politics is being criminalised. The debate on this issue would take a lot of time. In my opinion, if all the parties agree that no ticket would be given to persons of criminal character, then it can be done. If all political parties decide about their candidates one month or two months before the elections and send the list to the Election Commission, the Election Commission can make necessary screening and if required, changes can be made in the list. It is very difficult to check it by making legislation. If all the parties agree to it and if the chair proposes it after taking the views of all the parties, it would be a major achievement.

I also agree with the suggestions given by Vajpayeeji in regard to conducting the business of the House that Members should allow to complete the Question Hour peacefully. It should not be interrupted.

[Translation]

I would say that it is a good suggestion. When I was not a Minister, I had written to the Hon. Speaker that the time wasted in the interruptions should be mentioned in the daily bulletin. This is also my suggestion.

So far as his other suggestion that Members should not come in the 'well' is concerned, it is a good suggestion. Nowhere one should go in the well; neither here, nor outside. One should not jump in the well. But I would suggest one amendment in it and that is that members should not go in the well here in the House and they should not demolish temple or mosque outside. Both these suggestions should be agreed to. We agree to your suggestion and so you should agree to our suggestion. I would be happy if they accept this amendment.

We have celebrated the Golden Jubilee of our Independence recently. It is being discussed all over the world and all have praised it. What it was for? It was for the fact that inspite of illiteracy and poverty, our republic has worked for fifty years uninterrupted. It is a matter of great pride for our country. Such was not the case with the other countries which became independent along with India. What is the reason that Pakistan, which also became independent along with India, remained under dictatorship for almost half of the time after its creation. Similar was the case with Bangladesh. There is only one reason for it that we never declared our State a religious state. We adopted secularism which we inherited from our national movement. But Pakistan declared itself as an Islamic state and their Islamic set up broke down many times and alongwith it they could not protect democracy. You say that Hindutva (Hinduism) is above all, but we disagree with you on this point. You have to solve it. On the one hand, you say that Hindutva is above all and on the other, you talk about "*Sarva Dharma Sambhava*". But in practice you say that Hindutva would be above all. It is not proper. If this country understands after fifty years of independence that all are equal in this country, if we agree to it that we would not do politics in the name of religion, we can be more successful. We all remain secular for first four years, but this secularism evaporates in the fifth year when election comes. This is the biggest weakness of our politics and it has ruined the country. It's another result is that 15-20 crores people of this country, particularly Muslim, cannot caste their vote freely. They neither think about political issues nor economic issues but they take into account only one thing *i.e.* whether BJP is coming in power or not. Who would protect their Houses? How democracy would flourish, if you don't give freedom to them. Hon'ble Members should ponder over it. It is only you who have to remove this deformity.

There is one more point which has not been discussed in the report. But it is an important issue of the Indian politics. Due to the rise of *Hindutva*, they are under duress. The national leaders at the time of independence surrendered before Muslim communalism. The country was divided and since then they ignored the Muslim Community. No improvement was made in their condition nothing was done and they succumbed to the circumstances. Today we notice the sign of change in that society. You must have seen that Muslim ladies went

to offer *Namaj* in Lucknow on a larger scale. If we encourage them, they can come in the mainstream. Only then our democracy would become more strong.

I want to raise one more point which has not been mentioned in our report. Our Hindu society is divided in many castes. It is experiencing a social upheaval. I don't know whether all hon'ble Members see it or not. There is a big upheaval. Now there are no more downtroddens. The downtroddens of the time of Gandhiji are no more downtrodden. There has been change in them and now they want participation in power. They do not want to live on charity now. We consider ourselves civilised. We give you statistics regarding the condition of *dalits* in the year 1995, which were given in reply to a Parliamentary Question in which it was stated that.

[English]

Five hundred and fifty two *dalits* were murdered and 843 were raped.

Is it a civilized society, may I ask you?

[Translation]

Even the Britishers did not commit so much atrocity on the black people in South Africa. It is shameful but you people do not even discuss it. What would be the fate of our national integration? There is no mention about it in the report. Many people have spoken but none has mentioned about it.

[English]

There is an upheaval in Hindu society.

[Translation]

We should try to reconcile on the basis of equality. No one should be neglected. We will have to go ahead admitting the fact that they also constitute a major portion of the society. Similarly, there is the question of OBCs. They have just awakened and they want social justice. It is a good thing and our party also supported them. Leftists and Congress have also exposed it but Kesriji is extending his support a little more. It is a good thing but I would like to ask a question whether it is new upheaval of social justice. Are you doing it? If you are doing it and had Gandhiji been alive today it would have been looked at in a different manner. Today, we consider it with a view to grab power. We do not work for their unity, for providing them rights. Hence, this crisis has cropped up. Anarchy is prevailing in big States, even in Hindi speaking areas. The Government is not able to function there. Somebody says that President's rule should be imposed there, somebody says that High Court rule is there and somebody says something else about it. It has become a mockery. If you want to protect democracy, you will have to find out a solution of this upheaval. We should also discuss it. Now, a new malady has developed. The struggle for achieving social justice has now been turned into casteism. It means that we have deviated from our real aim. This is being done here. Due to this casteism, national leaders are being insulted. Their statues are being desecrated. In Maharashtra, the statue of Baba Saheb was desecrated and the national leaders were insulted in Kanpur. What is this going on. Is it a way of spreading the riots? Is it the way to govern the country? It should have been mentioned in your documents.

[English]

Something highly dangerous is coming to this country.

[Translation]

So far as Dr. Ambedkar is concerned, he has very clearly stated in this regard. The Maharashtra Government had published his historical writings. I would like to draw you attention towards page 66 wherein he has stated that nothing can be done on the basis of caste.

[English]

There is a man who has said this.

[Translation]

Without it, India cannot be built up. He said that if you would believe in casteism it would lead to so many controversies and everybody would say that only his caste is good. If a person belonging to my caste takes a bribe, I would favour him. Thirdly, he said that due to this caste system there is dissension among the workers. We are witness to that. At least today, we should follow the teachings of Dr. Ambedkar. On the question of annihilation of caste system, his views were different from Gandhiji. Due to paucity of time, I do not want to go into details of it. We are discussing this issue because the situation is quite alarming. We should control it. If we do not control it, the society would disintegrate and it would have a said reflection on politics and democracy. At the sametime, we should like to submit that casteism and communalism are responsible for criminalization of politics. If you go into the depth of this issue, you will find that people are using them. Everybody likes criminals belonging to his own caste. Everybody likes the corrupt people of his caste. Under these circumstances, the nation cannot make any progress and this dream of progress would remain a dream.

So far as election reforms are concerned, I agree with Vajpayeeji that electoral reforms should be carried out. Funds should be provided by the Government itself. Many countries are doing so. We should also adopt this practice. Parties should hold regular elections. But the problem is that the Election Commission and the Supreme Court sometimes intervene in the elections. When this is the position, what type of politicians you are? What to talk of holding the elections in the country you can not hold even your party elections. I feel that fault lies with us and particularly with the politicians. We must improve the situation. If there is excessive interference in this matter by the High Court, it would be High Courtism and they would also face the same situation.

I would like to raise some more points. Still there are differences. We do not speak properly and if at all we speak, the action is not taken thereon. Everybody says that poverty should be eradicated. Efforts are being made for the last fifty years but it has not been eradicated so far. Earlier Prime Ministers and Ministers were more able as compared to us. We will have to go into the depth of this matter to ascertain the reasons responsible for it. The major fault lies with our system of planning. Instead of increasing the income of a person, a "good scheme" is formulated and a *Fatwa* is issued to implement it but it does not prove successful. Everybody says that our country is predominantly an agricultural country. When it is true, more allocation of funds should be made for agriculture. Agriculture and animal husbandry has more potentiality to provide employment....*(Interruption)* Horticulture is a part of it. National growth rate has increased. If the growth rate of any sector has increased it is the agricultural sector. Rate of inflation has decreased due to the agriculture sector, but more funds have been provided to the industry. So, how can poverty be eradicated in this way? The marginal and small farmers constitute the major portion of the population but nothing has been done to increase their income. You have claimed that we have made progress in the field of science and technology. Hon'ble Members have said that we have made satellites while Pakistan and our neighbouring Arab countries have not made it. Despite all these achievements, why does poverty exist? Being the Minister of Agriculture, I can say that ill treatment has been meted out to the farmers. This year farmers have produced potatoes in huge quantity but a large quantity of potatoes has gone rotten, it could not be sold. ...*(Interruptions)*. Therefore, I am saying that we should rectify our mistake. You think over the second mistake as to whether it is right or wrong. Vajpayeeji is a freedom fighter. He is also a product of 1942 and we also joined the politics in the same year. ...*(Interruptions)*. We are in the same age group. We also went to jail. If there is any controversy over it, what can we do? There should be a time limit from where we should proceed. It should also be considered. ...*(Interruptions)* We had raised the slogan, 'Britishers, Quit India', but now we are inviting them for making investment here. We have given them red carpet welcome. Whether it is true or not but it shows that change has taken place. We were released from the jail at the time Jawaharlal ji became Prime Minister. During that period we used to raise slogan like 'Seize Britishers' and 'foreign capital'. Today, all Chief Ministers, whether they are communist or non-communist are going abroad for the purpose of inviting foreign investment in the country. Now you tell us what should we do?. ...*(interruptions)*

Sir, I would like to submit that the world situation has changed a lot and now none more can stand comparison with Gandhi and Nehru All the mediocre. Great leaders are required to run this country because they would decide the path keeping in view the conditions in the country, but there is no such leader. If someone goes to America and sees the conditions there and if someone goes to Europe and sees the conditions there, he, on his return, says that systems of these countries should be implemented here, but nobody bothers about this country. We have public sector undertakings. I hope our friends from Congress party would not mind. We are not saying so for criticism. Your leaders spoke a lot today. You were the very people who spoke a lot today. You were the very people who created the public sector. These people ignored it for 7–8 years and did not support it. Those were your babies. If the mother of a child becomes a witch, what would happen to him? You have brought the public sector to an unenviable position After we came to power, we found that these were just on the verge of ruin. So, we revived them. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please be brief.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA : I would conclude the moment you desire so.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude in one or two minutes.

[English]

SHRI NIRMAL KANTI CHATTERJEE (Dumdum) : Sir, when sensible things are being said, time should be provided to him. That is the convention of the House.

[Translation]

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA . If you give me some more time then I would tell you some more things. I would conclude within 5-7 minutes. Please think about the public sector. You know that we are communists.

The labourers here think that the public sector companies belong to them and none else. They may work or may not work, even if the company suffers loss they don't bother, they go to the Nasik press and bring money. This is not possible in modern age. We should change the policy. The fundamental mistake committed by us was that the public sector could not understand the law of market. The market was ignored and the competitiveness was not there. Even the money was not raised from the primary market. This mistake should not be repeated. Public sector would run and there is no other way out in the country except the public sector. Therefore, I would say that if there are differences, We should sit together and decide how to run the public sector and what should be done. ...*(Interruptions)* They have just returned from Calcutta and might be feeling fresh. They may have been influenced by Leftists' thinking. ...*(Interruptions)*

Sir, Now I would like to submit that imitating the foreign country will not serve the purpose.

[English]

There are two types of economic laws. One type is for surplus economic countries and another is for a deficit economic countries.

[Translation]

The people from World Bank had come to us and when we told these things to them they kept mum. when something like plague spread in Gujarat, tetracycline was missing from the market. They say that the trade should be liberalised, Please tell what would be the fate. Devendraji is present here. Wheat was procured and given to the open market and they hoarded it. When its price shot upto Rs. 14–15 per kilogram, we asked what had happened?

[English]

The law of the market is not operating properly in the deficit economic countries whereas it is functioning well in a country which has surplus economy.

16.00 hrs.

[Translation]

Our economists do not make this distinction. Ours is a poor country and we are to run our country keeping in view its condition. Similarly, every Government want that more and more foreign investors should come. Sometimes we feel that if would have been better to live in a foreign country. What is the need after all to live here. We do not stop you from bringing foreign technology but the nation building cannot be done with foreign assistance. The nation building can be done only by its own strength. If we have unanimity on it then we would be able to do our work successfully and with dignity. ...*(Interruptions)* The other danger is of GATT. With the implementation of GATT, the world would become, a single market. They are more developed than us in the field of science and technology. We are backward and our productivity is low. Merely doing labour would not increase productivity. The question is of technology. Our problem is how to bring our productivity to the international level. You will have to curtail other expenses to provide funds for R&D. If you won't do that you cannot make this country to progress. I Think that this Government has taken certain steps in this regard but that is like a drop in the ocean. ...*(Interruptions)*. Mr. Speaker, Sir, discussion can be held on subsidy also. Some people say that subsidy should be withdrawn totally. We are of the opinion that the cost of production in this country is very high but it can be reduced by increasing production and productivity.

[English]

The prices can come down and we can give cheaper commodities to the people without any big subsidy.

[Translation]

The recovery of sugar is 5 to 10 per cent in our country. Sugar Mills' leader from Maharashtra is present in the House. ...*(Interruptions)* I was discussing about subsidy, we can ofcourse, withdraw the subsidy but there is a way of doing it. We have to increase the productivity for doing so.

Lastly, I would like to submit that the hon. Member had a very fruitful discussion on the uneven development in the country but that is partially correct. Someone said that crimes are committed due to poverty. I would like to submit that had it been so, the rate of crime could not have been highest in America. I can speak about crimes also but I would not like to go into the details just now. The present Government has tried to develop the backward areas and it wants to give more resources to the State Governments. Comrade Chatterjee was speaking, about it, but I would like to submit that the 10th Finance Commission had said that 9 per cent of the total income should be given and we did so in the 9th plan.

[English]

In totality, 42 per cent has gone to the States.

[Translation]

Please check, may be 1–2 per cent has been left in haste. However, we have started it. The hon. Railway Minister has started providing trains in the backward areas but what would be the benefit? We have been saying so

because of the welfare of the nation. We have been urging upon the government for the development of fuel. Therefore, our government has been bringing policy changes, unlike the previous governments. I am drawing your attention towards it. I have said earlier also that we have joined this government because we have firm faith that because of *Hindutva* the democracy would cease to exist and the unity of the country would also not remain intact. Therefore, all the regional parties have joined together and the Congress is supporting us. The actual question is of *Hindutva*. All the religions are equal. To say that *Hindutva* is some what superior, is not proper. It will not serve any purpose. Therefore, I would like to submit that to save the country and its unity, we should pledge and ponder over it from a new angle. We should proceed further only on the issues on which we are unanimous. On the remaining issues, there are some difficulties. If they leave the issue of *Hindutva*, then more than fifty per cent of them would remain outside and would not be returned next time. They should accept our suggestion if they feel it is good.

16.07 hrs.

[COL. RAO RAM SINGH *in the Chair*]

SHRI JAG MOHAN

[English]

SHRI JAG MOHAN (New Delhi) : Sir, I thank you very much for giving me this opportunity to share my thoughts with you and with this august House. ...*(Interruptions)* Sir, I would request you that they may kindly be disciplined. They are talking.

MR. CHAIRMAN : No cross-talk please.

SHRI JAG MOHAN : Sir, I do not want to repeat all that has been said. Very valid points have been made. But I think when we are meeting for a Special Session at a historic moment, at a sign post of our history, as I may call it, we should instead of scratching on the surface, go deep into the fundamentals, the fundamentals of mind and matter, the underlying forces that have shaped this country. After all, all the outward manifestations are really an expression of the inner spirit, we must also look at these problems from a larger angle in the context of history.

As Shri Vajpayeeji has said in the morning that we have been marching for five thousand years we must put these 50 years in the context of our five thousand years. What we are today is what we have inherited. I would think of T.S. Eliot's observation:

"Time present and Time past
Are both present in the Time future
And Time future contained in the time past"

It establishes the relationship among the three and then there is a very important thing.

'Footfalls echo in the memory
Down the passage that we did not take
Towards the doors which we did not open'

The issue today what we should consider is what is the passage that we have ignored; what are the doors that we have not opened and what has been the consequence of that. So, after these 50 years, we must examine the journey which we have so far performed. We must understand where our compass has led us to the wrong path, where we have stumbled, where we have injured ourselves and what rotten apples we have collected in our baggage during these 50 years. There are the issues which we must consider in this Special Session and not those points which we can normally discuss. And it is also our duty to consider how to heal our wounds.

How to explore new passages and consider whether another alternative is available to us or not, or some modification is needed or not?

I would invite your attention to the speech which was relayed on 15th August, 1997 I quote:

"At the stroke of midnight hour when the world sleeps India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance."

I put three fundamental questions before this House. 'Wake up', did we realy wake up? That is the question we should consider. Wake up to freedom, what type of freedom we got? What is this long suppressed soul? I think, this is one of the most underplayed portions of the

speech of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru. What was the long suppressed soul? My view is that even if we woke up, we woke up only for a short while and then went to sleep again.

Swami Vivekananda also talked of his sleeping giant. The giant did really wake up but after some time it took a wrong direction. Freedom was there, but that type of freedom was there?

Gandhiji was asked to give a message on the 15 August, 1947. He did not give any message. He told that he had gone dry. He could not give any message. So, we should consider as to why it was so.

I, as one of those as a school boy, have also seen the dawn of freedom, but standing in the pool of blood and in that pool of blood not less than two million people perished. They were drowned in that blood. There were twelve million other people who were washed away by the tide of that blood and all that misery was a part of that freedom. We should not forget the curse of partition. Even today when the guns are booming at the border, it is a part of that curse we have not learnt lesson from that. This is what we should be considering today. When we talk of freedom, our life and the long suppressed soul, when we talk of Tryst with Destiny we should also consider it. Did we really define our destiny? Did we really define where we want to go? The fundamental question should have been, What type of civilization we want to construct? What type of culture we wanted to rear? What type of value system we wanted to have? What type of attitude of mind we want to develop? Those were the fundamental questions and since we did not look into these fundamental questions, we are today at a stage where we are.

It is all right that every nation requires architects—architects of law, architects of constitution, architects of social and economic patterns. But, above all, we require an architect of mind and soul. We require a mind shape. It is that fundamental which gives strength to that edifice. We may have all the constitutions of the world; we may have all the good laws of the world; and we may have all the institutional framework of the world, but it is the social and cultural root and it is the mindshape of the nation which really gives content and meaning to those goals.

Sir, so many things have been said about corruption. What did we declare? We declared that we will make India a mighty nation—mighty in thought, mighty in deeds, mighty in culture, mighty in service to humanity, but where have we landed today after 50 years? Mighty in corruption, mighty in callousness, mighty in confusion, mighty in chaos, mighty in criminalisation of politics and politicisation of the crime.

You may have all the structure. We wanted to fight corruption and we set up the Central Bureau of Investigation, the Director of Enforcement and so many other things. But was the CBI Directorate or the Director of Enforcement able to curb corruption? It has multiplied. Because if our mind is not clean, if our attitudes are not correct, then all these structural changes will only lead to contrary results. After the CBI was set up, corruption in this country has increased because so many times this organisation were used to cover corruption and not to discover corruption.

This is the fundamental issue which we should consider. We declared in the Preamble of our Constitution that we want a secular, socialist, democratic republic, but how democratic are we, how socialist, democratic republic, but how democratic are we, how socialist are we and how secular are we? Nobody is going to dispute that we do not want democracy and nobody wants to dispute that we do not want to be secular, nobody wants to dispute that we do not want to be socialist. The problem is whether we want to have a good democracy or a bad democracy. The choice is whether we want to be genuinely secular or we want to be only hypocritically secular, whether we want to be genuinely socialist or we want only to pay lip service to socialism.

Why is it so that today, even after fifty years, we go to any place on a New Year day, every table is spending at least Rs. 20,000. Crores of rupees are wasted throughout the country on that day and simultaneously, lakhs of people are sleeping outside in the dead of the winter. Is it the pattern of socialism that we had constructed? It really shows that we have only paid lip service to socialism. And our distinguished friends there talk about public sector and private sector. We had the public sector, we have the private sector now. I know how in the public sector people were appointed on political considerations, how the public sector was over-jammed by staff due to political considerations. When mind was not clean, naturally the public sector had to fail. Likewise, after the private sector, what has happened is, corruption has increased because correct attitudes were not there. Therefore, today, to cut short a long story, I would like to say that we should have considered what was that heritage which made. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now please wind up.

... *(Interruptions)*

MR. CHAIRMAN : I think all the party leaders had agreed that ten minutes would be given to each Member.

SHRI JAG MOHAN : I shall try to be as brief as possible, Sir. I thought that I was to get twenty-five minutes. That is what was told to me. Anyhow, I shall cut short. I am not keen to put all the propositions. But anyhow let me complete my proposition. At least I shall make one point.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please carry on.

SHRI JAG MOHAN : Sir, what I was saying was that when we say that India would be great, India had a mission to play in the world to civilise the whole world and give a new pattern of life, a new design for life, on what basis do we say so? It was on the basis of a great civilization. And what Toynbee had said was that India would conquer the world in the twenty-first century, he did not mean that we shall militarily conquer it or we shall have a nuclear power to conquer it; what he meant was that we shall conquer it by the value system which we have, we shall conquer it by the power of our mind. You may say that America has progressed because of enterprise. If we say what is our great asset, that was the power of the mind and the nobility of the temper that this power created. What were the main concepts and ideals which we had—the concept of *karmayogi*, the concept of *tyaga*, *tapasya*, balance, harmony, dynamic reality, adherence to truth.

What Gandhiji has said is : "For me, the God is truth". The fundamental question, you may say, is *Ram Rajya*. It really means fair and just Government by fair and just means and there is no fixed route. You go on moving from lower to higher level of truth you go on making efforts and so on. These were the great ideals of our civilization. If we had made these ideals as fundamental, our fate today would have been different. We would have been a very honest nation, a just nation. Today many things have been said.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please conclude.

SHRI JAG MOHAN : Sir, you have given me the whistle; but you will at least give me two more minutes to say what I would like to say.

To me, Sir, today it is quite clear that during the most formative period of our contemporary history—these 50 years—there have been three major failures of leadership—(1) failure to evolve an inspired vision; (2) failure to get rid of infirmities that we acquired during our long march to decline and decay; and (3) failure to keep alive the strands of Vivekananda's cultural awakening and Gandhiji's mission to spiritualise politics. We have largely been imitative and looking to models which are relevant to other needs, other situations and other stages of history. We have at different points of time, been dazzled by the outward glitter of the western systems, be they socialist, capitalist or a combination of both.

No wonder, we have, after fifty years of partition and independence, been caught in the worst of both the worlds. The social, economic and political weaknesses, acquired by our system due to the decay and decadence of our once great civilization, are getting compounded by some of the worst features of the western civilization. And we are fast heading to a stage where we may have nothing to look back with pride and nothing to look forward with hope.

Sir, our primary task should have been to regenerate the power of the Indian mind, re-create the ancient nobility of temper and re-construct those ideals and concepts which had made once India great and mother of civilizations which had inspired men like Swami Vivekananda and Mahatma Gandhi and which led Arnold Toynbee to observe that "India the conquered would conquer the conquerors in the 21st century".

A powerful, creative and constructive mind should have been our main instrument in building a new civilization, a new culture. The edifice of new India should have been erected on the soil and in the climate created by that civilization and culture. The bricks of that edifice should have been baked in the fire of new spirituality and cemented together with the values of compassion, commitment, balance, harmony, justice and truth. The hands that should have gone to work should have been those of a *Karmayogi*. We had to re-build moral and cultural capacities. We could not hope to win from outward forms the contents which are debated. We should have waged a campaign of cleaning the inner-Ganga first before we could hope to clean the outer-Ganga. We should have thought of mental slums first before clearing the physical slums.

Sir, much has been said about the moral. ... *(Interruptions)* Yes, it was part of my own article. I said, because of shortage of time, I said I should at least mention the crux. Otherwise there will not be time.

But one thing that I would like to mention is, in the morning it was said by my distinguished friend Shri Scindia that we should not loose self-confidence, we should talk of our good points which we have. Well, I have no quarrel on that. I have taken you to paths which

we have. Well, I have no quarrel on that. I have taken you to paths which you might think that are full of bushes and thorns and I have bypassed some of the green pastures. But that is not the intention.

My intention is only to show that we have missed a great deal. I have only one set of data which I want to read.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I request you to wind up please. You have taken more than 20 minutes.

SHRI JAG MOHAN : I will take only one minute because this point is very relevant. I have got so many points but I am skipping all other points. Let me complete this point which is very important. When data was mentioned and all the progress that has been made was mentioned, it is better to put on record something else also which is equally relevant and than is the pace of the progress during these 50 years.

I would like to give you only four lines which show that the issue which is important today is not whether we have made progress or not but the issue relative development—where the world has gone and where we have gone. Let me give you only a comparative data with regard to this. Thereafter, I will make my last word. In 1950–51, India's share of world gross national product was two per cent. Now, it is less than one per cent. In 1950–51, 12 per cent of the Third World gross national product was contributed by India. Now, the corresponding contribution is down to five per cent. The position in respect of industrial production is not very different. In 1950–51, India's industrial production comprised two per cent of world's total output. Today, it is 0.7 per cent. In 1950–51, 14 per cent of Third World industrial production came from India. Now it has decreased to four per cent. In line with the same trend, India's share is the world trade has declined from two per cent in 1950–51 to 0.6 per cent at present. There are many other data also. The point which I want to make is that it is the pace of development that matters. In the pace of development, we have lagged behind not only in the world on a average but also in comparison to the Third World. That is the issue that I am making. I did not want to get any bleak picture.

My only point is two-fold. We should decide today 'What do we want to become?' Do we want take pride in the fact that others have become dictatorial regimes and we have not? Do we want to become just a Third World country saturated in debt? Do we want to be a Third World country facing the problem of terrorism and subversion or one of those who also ran? Or, do we want to be that great country which our leaders had visualised to make it in 1947 and 1950? We should decide whether we want India to be a new model of civilization.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Please wind up now. You have taken 25 minutes.

SHRI JAG MOHAN : I will take only one minute. I want to finish. We should decide whether we want to become a new model of civilization. We have to decide new design for live, a new pattern of existence, a new pattern of social and economic existence.

You have interrupted my thought, but anyhow, I will just conclude.

MR. CHAIRMAN : I will not be able to check other people from speaking for 20 minutes.

SHRI JAG MOHAN : I want to add just one line because that will complete my point. All that I want to say is that my idea was not to say that we have done this. It was only to show that we have gone wrong. I am not sounding pessimistic. I am only saying that we should consider that

"Jahan karvan Bhool Jate hein Raste,
Vahin Se Nikalti hein Manzil Ki Rahen".

Wherever we forget our way, only from that point we can find a new way. In whole proposition, I was insisting to say this last word because my proposition would not have been complete without it. We have chosen a wrong way. We have lost our way. This is the time when we should think of finding another way.

MR. CHAIRMAN : Now, Shri P.R. Dasmunsi will speak. I will request you to kindly consider the time factor

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI (Howrah) : I will try, Sir.

Fifty years before, in this great country a great patriot, a great son of India, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, took the leadership. Today, in 50 years, we may have a lot of disagreement amongst all the parties present here in the

House. We may have differences of opinion on many agenda and many issues.

But the greatest pleasure for me today in this House and in this great debate is that within 50 years if we have achieved one thing morally, it is that cutting across party lines we have all accepted Mahatma Gandhi. When we had all accepted Mahatma Gandhi, it is also equally painful that it took 50 years for all the political parties to understand what was the relevance of Mahatma Gandhi. When I say this, I also say that possibly Mahatma Gandhi had chosen the right successor when he said, and I quote:

> "I have said for some years and say now that Jawaharlal will be my successor."

He further says:

> "He does not understand my language and that he speaks in a language foreign to me. This may or may not be true, but language is no bar to union of hearts and I know this that when I am gone he will speak my language."

And really he spoke his language. Before his death, he wrote a testament and I will only quote the last part of his testament in which Jawaharlalji says:

> "The major portion of my ashes after my death should however be disposed of otherwise. I want them to be carried up into the air in an aeroplane and scattered from that height over the fields where the peasants of India toil so that they might mingle with the dust and soil of India and become an indistinguishable part of India."

That was the language Gandhiji visualised very correctly. We made our journey from that day. It is true that we have ruled this country for more than 40 years. Whatever are the achievements, we share with all of you and for whatever we could not, the blame should only be on us. I do not mind to accept or deny any of the charges today. But today is the day when I shall not highlight the politics involved in them.

Sir, Shri Jag Mohan has concluded by saying that we had chosen the wrong path, the wrong way. Had we chosen the wrong way, since Jawaharlal Nehru and followed by many people like Morarjibhai, Shri Charan Singh, Shri Chandra Shekhar, Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Shri Deve Gowda and now Shri Gujral, how could we accept the same foreign policy today which was founded by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru? Had we done something to the very basis of our Constitution, right from the First Amendment to the Seventy-Eight Amendment, how could we link the grassroots democracy of Panchayati Raj institutions to Parliament? Was this contribution and choosing this path a wrong way?

Sir, today Atalji said that for Emergency also some party should express apology.

[Translation]

Today it has become a practice to seek pardon. Atalji has said it correctly I respect him.

[English]

In politics nothing is static. One has to learn from the people and for learning from the people if somebody gives a manifesto and an expression, it is only surrendering and saluting the people. It does not undermine anybody's dignity and that is why, the Calcutta Congress Session gave a clarion call that on 6th December, 1992, may be that some political parties did the greatest harm to the secular fabric of this country, but we also could not perform the legal responsibility at the appropriate hour. What is wrong in saying that?

Sir, I know that Emergency did something right and something wrong or may be something was very right. Otherwise, the talents like Shri Jag Mohan, which are in the B.J.P. today, were our main discovery during the Emergency in Delhi. I think talents are talents. They should not be questioned in terms of the hour and events of history. Today, if we have to apologise everybody should apologise. Let us pay our respect to the people. If Indira Gandhi had done something wrong during Emergency, was it proper to expel her from this House, after she got elected from Chikmagalur? If the people have rejected us in 1977, then they have also equally rejected somebody else in 1980 by saying that they had thrown her out and that was not the way. But this is Indian democracy and it has functioned in that way. We have all learnt lessons from each one.

There was a time when everybody thought that after Nehru, Uttar Pradesh would be taken care of by the followers of Ram Manohar Lohia. The followers of the great socialist, Shri Ram Manohar Lohia, are there now, whom I respect. They fought till the end for their conviction. That is, socialism They now realise—Nehru has gone, Indira has gone, Congress has gone—that U.P. is not in the hands of the socialists but in their hands. It will help us to understand and visualise what the ultimate harvest of anti-Congressism within these 50 years is. The anti-Congressism within these 50 years might have been the foundation to form various political parties, but it could not give them the conviction to reach the

destiny—the destiny which was mentioned in that famous speech "The Tryst with Destiny" delivered at the midnight on 14th August, 1947 in the Central Hall. This is what I would like to submit you today.

Who are we today? We are not merely Hindus or Muslims. We represent a culture, a culture which embodied everybody. Nothing could be more appropriate than to quote the great poet, Tagore, who described 'who are we' in his great Ode to India:

"No one knows at whose call
How many strands of the human race
Rushed in from nowhere like irresistible streams
And lost themselves in this Sea.
The Aryans and the non-Aryans,
The Dravidas and the Chinese,
The Sakas and the Huns, the Pathans and the Moguls—
All merged into a single entity.
Those who crossed deserts and hills and mountains
With battle cries on their lips
And burst upon the plain
Tumultuous, wild,
In my bosom they rest, one and all,
None are remote from me, none.
In my blood day and night
Mutely throb their varied notes."

This is what Tagore said in his classic poem *"Bharat-Teertha"* (Ode to India).

The concealed idea in what Tagore said was not to quarrel as to who came from which branch. Today, Shri Vajpayee was referring to the 1757 Plassey Battle. I salute Shri Vajpayee's contribution to the House. It was Siraj-ud-Daula who fought that battle. In this Special Session, on the occasion of the 50th Anniversary of our Independence, we are quoting Gandhi and Nehru. We say that our battle for freedom was the battle which gave the basic tuning for secularism in this country. It was Siraj-ud-Daula who fought the East India Company, followed by Bahadur Shah who led the "Sipoy Mutiny". We also know that Tipu Sultan and Hyder Ali showed great courage and conviction while defending our Motherland from the invasion by the English people.

The contribution of Muslims is tremendous in this country. Can you deny that fact? That is why, Gandhiji stood for secular values of the country and his renowned tune.

"Ishwar Allah Tere Nam Sabko Sammati De Bhagwan"

Is not the tune of Gandhiji's prayer, but it is the tune of secular ethos of India, which has been embodied in the Constitution through a major Amendment, that is, Forty-Second Amendment. That Amendment was the pride of the nation. Are all these things valueless?

Population grew like anything. Actually, when population control measures were taken in Emergency, did they not play politics with it? Did they not play politics by saying that this particular family planning measure would hit a particular religion and, therefore, the particular religion should not elect 'A' party or 'B' party to form the Government? When population control was the order of the day, we played politics with it. Today, let us forget about the past. Let us realise that with the present population control programmes, even if we produce 220 million tonnes of foodgrains, we cannot take the country to the heights Gandhiji desired, I desire or Shri Jag Mohan desires. It remains a basic question today.

Every time, we look upon the Muslims in the country with doubt and suspicion. Then, how do we build socialism or the secular fabric of the country? Whenever there was a war with Pakistan, the Intelligence people had gone around the Muslim *bastees* looking for their agent. When there is this suspicion and humiliation, how can they stay in this country? Secularism means tolerance. What is the level of tolerance today? I know of people who preach that the Muslims are taking more advantage. What kind of advantage is it?

The other day, I was discussing with my friends that when we celebrate *Durga Pooja*, we take 15 days to erect a *pandal*, another 10 days for the *pooja* and another five days for the immersion. We take one month totally and nobody else can encroach the road. For Diwali and Kali *pooja*, we take another ten days; for Holi, we keep the city busy for four days; for Janmashtami, we take one evening, and for Ram Navami, we take another two evenings. But if the Muslims, for lack of accommodation in the mosque, assemble on the road for two hours putting a no-entry board, then we say, "What is this?" We say that the Muslims are capturing the road for two hours. It shows that we cannot tolerate it. Is this what you call 'tolerance'? This is what is going on now.

[Translation]

For the Moharram of one day they have 'Taziya' procession for two days. Police will say, that the road is closed because of Taziya procession of Muslims. What is the comment we people offer? It is all nonsense, we have to divert the vehicles for two days because of 'Taziya' procession. For our Durga Pooja there is bandh for 15 days, we do not speak about that.

[English]

This tolerance we have lost, unless we restore this tolerance to the country, the sacrifices of Mahatma Gandhi and the untold sufferings of the people who stood for freedom right from Sirajudaullah to Bahadur Shah, Tipu Sultan to Haider Ali and finally of Mahatma Gandhi, all will be in vain. That is where we stand, I know. I will give an example.

A Muslim *rickshaw-wallah* used to earn only Rs. 5 to Rs. 7 a day. On the day the *Ramayan* is to be shown on the television, he does not go to his profession. He used to come

[Translation]

to peep just to have the glimpse of Lord Ramchandra story on T.V. There was no Television and they used to sit in tea stall and say that they would go only after seeing the serial. The same Muslims have placed Rama in their heart. After a few days when someone enchants 'Jai Ram' they feel frightened that someone is coming to kill them. We have taken this society to that stage. Today our secularism is in such a big danger. If after the fifty years of Independence the Public Sector is in danger then we can improve that, if there are shortcomings in law we can rectify that just if secularism is in danger then we will not be able to save the country. Today we are facing this challenge in a very big way. If we want to prove our commitment then all the parties should work together leaving aside our differences, as Shri Somnathji also spoke about commitment of politics, commitment with the constitution. I have to say with very heavy heart that today the prestige of our Parliament is falling rapidly. I have not came here to criticise the courts or the judges. But it is enshrined in the Constitution that all these three wings should function within their jurisdiction. No one has the right to interfere in the proceedings of the Parliament. Today we will have to guess from the judgement of the High Court whether the government will survive or not. Today we will have to satisfy ourselves from the judgement of Supreme Court that in which way any individual has to behave in the House. This is not the way.

Shri Kalpnath Raiji is one of our friends. Some of our colleagues are sitting on this side, who have no objection, for anybody being hanged. Shri Kalpnath Raiji is an M.P. and a politician. The observations made by the packed court in his case is a sad reflection on the entire House. Conspiracy is going on for misleading this House and for depriving this House of its rights. This is a sad commentary. Supremacy of Parliament should remain and if there is anything Supreme after fifty years of the Independence of this country, it is the supremacy of Parliament and nothing else. It is the Parliament which frames the Constitution and amends it. It is the Parliament which enacts various laws and amends them and the members of Parliament are the very representatives of the people. If anyone does any wrong then the suggestions given by Vajpayeeji today, I agree that if at the time of voting in Central Hall or Lobby, at the time of debate, at the time of putting question, someone has committed any wrong, then a committee of the House should consider it, boycott him and after that legal action be taken. But what is going on.

[English]

If I put a question against Enron, does it mean that I have taken money from Hyundai? If I keep the door open to the judiciary and if I mention it on an argument against a company, who knows somebody will make a conspiracy against me that I had taken money from Hyundai?

[Translation]

Go to his residence and conduct an inquiry. Send CBI personnel. Approach the Supreme Court.

[English]

The province of investigation is the province of the executive. A Superintendent of Police is not a fool. He is an IPS Officer. He is to report to his D.G. D.G is to report to his Chief Secretary. Chief Secretary is to report to the Chief Minister, irrespective of the political line. If today the situation is such that a judge is to call an SP to his private chamber and tell the SP "You cannot report to a DG. You cannot report to a Chief Secretary. You are to report to me so that I can direct as to against whom I will ask you to go and inquire". I do not know where this Constitution will go, for which Dr. B.R. Ambedkar sat in the Constituent Assembly over which Dr. Rajendra Prasad presided. If a Government does wrong, let the Home Minister take action, I do not mind.

We can defer the issues. But it is not happening. Article 105 of the Constitution outlines what are the privileges of the members of Parliament. Even if I vote against the Gujral Government tomorrow against the whip issued by Shri Santosh Mohan Dev, advised by the Congress Party, if Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee feels happy about that, that is a different thing. But if I vote against the Gujral Government contrary to the whip issued to me by my Party and if you come across a complaint that I did vote taking money from some quarter, in that case, you try me in the Privileges Committee and put me on the gallows later on. But, if on suspicion, my privileges

under Article 105 of the Constitution are taken away by the court and the judiciary, what for this Parliament is? I shall continue to strive for this issue in the 50th anniversary of our Independence. The supremacy of Parliament should be justified.

I will conclude now. Before that, I will give Dicey's famous quotation from Dicey, The Law of the Constitution which says:

> "The principle of Parliamentary sovereignty means neither more nor less than this, namely, that Parliament...has under the English constitution, the right to make or unmake any law whatever, and, further, that no person or body is recognised by the law of England as having a right to override or set aside the legislation of Parliament."

Here, it has been ruled that no English court has the right to override the decision of the Legislature and the decision of Parliament is supreme.

I again quote from one recent judgement. More recently, Sir Robert Meagerly VC said in Manual V. Attorney-General (1983) which says:

> "I am bound to say that from first to last, I have heard nothing in this case to make me doubt the simple rule that the duty of the court is to obey and apply every Act of Parliament, and that the court cannot hold any such Act to be *ultra vires*. Of course, there may be questions about what the Act means, and of course there is power to hold statutory instruments and other subordinate legislation *ultra vires*. But once an instrument is recognised as being an Act of Parliament, no English court can refuse to obey it or question its validity.

That is the judgement. This is how the supremacy of Parliament is being honoured. And, a review is going on. But what is happening here?

[Translation]

Today you have said that the image of politician is falling in the eyes of all. It may be that 4–5 people out of us have committed a mistake, we all are sad for that we will punish them, retrench them and if need be, we will change the structure of the party, if need be we won't give them ticket, but it does not mean that all the people present in this House are capitalists, thieves, hooligans and culprits. The entire country is getting a message that politicians are doing wrong deeds. Executive is alright, Judiciary is alright, businessman is alright and all are O.K., only politicians are corrupt. Would this strengthen the foundations of Democracy of 50 years? We have to fight against corruption. I would like to urge upon Gujralji that before announcement of next session, he should bring Electoral reforms, Lok Pal Bill and make stern laws, start a movement for social boycott of the corrupt persons whether he is with us or with you, we all are ready for this. But it does not mean that you should demolish the institution. What are we doing to demolish the institution to fight against corruption we think that we are demolishing the institution but by doing so, we are hurting our interest ourselves, therefore, I am requesting you that if the supremacy of the Parliament is eroded then there will be no paramount importance and no tear of poor will be wiped out.

Today we receive money from Nationalized Banks. The Bank nationalisation that has been brought about by Indira Gandhi, had been challenged in the Supreme Court. But she was re-elected by the people through elections, Parliament proved it.

[English]

The Supreme Court has not the last say. The Parliament has the last say.

[Translation]

Since then each and every penny is being disbursed by nationalised banks.

Therefore, today on this occasion of 50 years, I would request for three things. One, don't make fight against corruption a political issue and party issue. Keep it on National agenda. If there is someone of such type amongst us then identify him. We will take action against him. If such person is amongst you, identify him and you get yourself ready. We are also against the criminalisation of politics.

Our second request is that if you want to say something about Congress, do it, because we were in power, we had made mistakes, due to that we could not win elections in 1977. We have made mistakes that is why we didn't get majority in 1991. There is no difference of opinion on this issue. We don't talk about our mistakes secretly. Our party is so much open that for taking report, a Reporter need not come to us, instead he gets report at his residence, our party is so much open. We do everything as general discussion, we discuss openly. Of course we have made mistakes. We do need not others' soap for cleansing ourselves. We have enough soap.

In the end I would request that for increasing the status of this country please do not make coalition culture by conviction. Coalition culture in the country is right for compulsion only. Presently coalition is going on, whether Janta Dal governs, whether Communist Party governs,

whether B.J.P. governs, but for the stability of the foundation of democracy.

[English]

MR. CHAIRMAN : Shri Dasmunshi, you have already taken twenty minutes. Kindly wind up now.

[Translation]

SHRI P.R. DASMUNSI : Don't bring anti-Congressism or anti-Janata Dalism in it. I am thankful to you for giving me an opportunity to speak and I hope that the achievements made by the country are quite sufficient and we will be ready to do more, but the people of the House must maintain the dignity.

SHRI CHITTA BASU

[English]

SHRI CHITTA BASU (Barasat) : Mr. Chairman, I am extremely sorry that I will have to begin today with a sense of sadness. I do not accuse this Lok Sabha Secretariat. I appreciate the labour put by the Secretariat in preparing this very highly appreciable document. But unfortunately, the first sentence of this document, according to me, is a distortion of history. And only for that reason, I want to point it out to the Members of the House and through this House to the country and to the world as a whole.

The first sentence begins and I quote:

> "Achievement of Independence from foreign rule by the country through a non-violent struggle was a great marvel in the history of humanity."

I am one of the deep admirers of Mahatma Gandhi. It is Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose, the country should know this, who addressed Mahatma Gandhi as Bapuji, Father of the Nation. It is not a historical fact. Can we forget Santhal Rebellion? Can we forget Sirajudaullah whom my good friend Shri Priya Ranjan Dasmunsi referred to? Can we forget Tipu Sultan? Can we forget the First War of Independence of 1857? Can we forget the Chittagong Armoury seizure? Can we forget Punnapravayalar? Can we forget Kayyur? Can we forget Karivallur or armed campaign for India's liberalisation by the Indian National Army headed by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose? Are these not part of history of India's Independence movement? It is nothing but a distortion Excuse me for saying this. I seek your pardon, if I am to say that this is nothing but a pervert attempt of Nehruisation or Gandhiasation of India's history. This is not pardonable. I think, the history of Indian Independence should be re-written and re-written in a way which reflects the emotions, sentiments of the people belonging to different parts of the country. Can we forget Shri Birsa Munda? Can we forget many other Santhal leaders who faced the gallows of the British? Therefore, excuse me for pointing out distortions. I would appeal to the Secretariat to prepare a history of the Indian Independence movement, if possible, including both the streams of struggle—non-violent and the other one.

My theme is very simple. As my friends mentioned it earlier, the discussion on a particular matter will be held on a particular day. My theme is: 'India's Democratic Polity—Challenges and Prospects.'

16.55 hrs.

[MR. SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

So far as the Indian Constitution is concerned, I say, it is the soul of the Indian nation. It is a background which is a vehicle of social transformation. It is an instrument of social justice. It is an instrument for creation of a new national rule and also creation of new order of society. Since my time is limited, I will be very brief. When I sit there, I know the difficulty.

MR. SPEAKER : You are a Presiding Officer. I will give you two minutes more.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Therefore, I am conscious of my time limitations. I will stick to that. I always speak on the basis of the time allotted by the Presiding Officer.

Sir, we have a unique and distinctive characteristic of our Indian Constitution. Briefly speaking, our Constitution is an instrument of social transformation leading to economic growth and social justice.

The other outstanding features of our Constitution are: fundamental rights; fundamental duties; separation of powers among organs of the States—legislature, executive and judiciary; cooperative federalism; political, social pluralism; composite culture of the nation; basic features of the Constitution which are unalterable and unamendable; and decentralisation of power.

Sir, due to paucity of time, I am not dealing with each specific distinctive characteristic of the Constitution of our country. But it is unique. This unique Constitution has been given exquisite expression by Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar. Since the time is short, I should only quote three or four lines of Dr. Ambedkar to explain this characteristic of the Constitution of our country. He summarised and I quote:

> "Liberty cannot be divorced from equality. Equality cannot be divorced from liberty. Nor can liberty and equality be divorced from fraternity. Without equality, liberty would produce the same supremacy of the few over the many. Equality without liberty would kill individual initiative. Without fraternity, liberty and equality could not become a natural course of things."

The whole thing, during the last 47 years after the implementation of the Constitution of our country, I can say, to the best of my knowledge and information, is that almost all the basic and unique characteristics of the Constitution have been violated than implemented and respected. Thank you for lending me a very good phrase to explain my feelings. Therefore, India's condition would not have been what it is today, had the Constitution been implemented in the true letter and true spirit. Sir, successive Governments have failed to implement that.

Now, I want to deal with a few challenges before the country today. It is good that the Prime Minister and even the President of the country have referred to the menace of corruption.

17.00 hrs.

Even a few days ago, the Prime Minister, in a public speech mentioned that there should be a *satyagraha* against corruption. I would have appreciated these views of him had he done so before he became the Prime Minister of the country. I would have been in his company in the *satyagraha*, if he really meant a *satyagraha.* Even today, I feel, *satyagraha* is a very potent instrument to socially boycott corrupt persons and to break the nexus between the corrupt bureaucrats, corrupt politicians and the corrupt administrative officers. But would he accompany me? Would he accompany the people? Will he join the *satyagrahis* on the streets, on the 2nd of October, the birthday of Mahatma Gandhi, to mobilise millions of people in the villages, in the towns and in the cities, to raise their voice against the corrupt people, against the corrupt politicians, against the corrupt administrators and against the corrupt bureaucrats? That could create an impression; that could create an environment which is necessary.

What about the administration? I have a report with me which says that there are 166 cases pending with the Central Government. These cases relate to seeking the consent of the concerned Governed Government Departments by the CBI to launch or begin prosecution against officials, politicians and bureaucrats. He wants *satyagraha.* He is the Prime Minister of the country, having total grip over the administration. He has not done so. He is making speeches; he is making public addresses. He is advising the people to go in for *satyagraha*; and he and his Government are not giving consent to prosecute those who are *prima facie* considered to be corrupt.

Now, I come to criminalisation of politics. You have also been very much kind to mention about how grave the menace is. The profile prepared by the Election Commission of India after the last general elections says, 'Earlier, criminal gangs used to support political parties and candidates; now, they are directly contesting elections.' Criminals are even becoming Ministers! It also says, 'Forty MPs are involved in criminal cases pending against them; nearly 700 MLAs of the 4,027 MLAs are involved in criminal cases and trials pending against them in 25 States and two Union Territories. Fifteen thousand candidates in the last elections had criminal records—cases of murder, dacoity, rape, theft, extortion of money.'

How can we have pure, democratic polity of India? The democratic polity of India is the product of the Constitution. By this, I urge that there should be some action taken to prevent, to eliminate and to axes this curse of criminalisation of politics.

If this is not done, democratic polity will be bombarded into fascism and all of us are aware what fascism means.

MR. SPEAKER : I am afraid I have given you three minutes more already.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : How many minutes have I taken?

MR. SPEAKER : You have taken fifteen minutes and seven seconds.

SHRI CHITTA BASU : Give me five minutes more.

Something has been mentioned about judicial activism. I would only implore all of you to understand that judicial activism would not be there if this corrupt practice has never seen the light of the day. I do not tar everybody with the same brush. There are good judges;

there are good lawyers and bad lawyers; and there are good politicians and bad politicians.

My next point is about political stability. Political stability is under strain. Some learned lawyers, learned politicians and Parliamentarians have recommended for a change in the system. I am not enamoured of the western system of administration. But having regard to the reality of India, its vastness, its pluralism, its culture, its religion and habits of life, I think Parliamentary democracy is more suitable and it should be further strengthened. There is no need for having any other new system.

So far as electoral laws are concerned, that needs to be further looked into and should be given effect to as early as possible.

I am coming to my last point. India should learn to say no to enemies and to those who are hostile to it. The Queen is coming to India. She should apologise to the Indian people. I am not a British subject. As a free citizen of independent India and as a Member of this sovereign Parliament, I should learn to say, 'Imperialist you killed thousands of our people in Jallianwala bagh'.

What did Dyer say? This is very important to note. I quote from *the Times of India* of 25.8.1997.

"Dyer remained unrepentant till the end and was quoted as saying:

> "I thought I would be doing a jolly good job. I could have dispersed the crowd but I wanted to make a wide impression and so the firing. I had made up my mind. I would put all men to death".

This is what General Dyer said, who killed thousands of persons. It is the British imperialism which is responsible for that; and so, the Queen must apologise on behalf of her earlier Government.

India should learn to speak sometimes some unpleasant words also. We are not the British subject, but we were. I was a British subject when I was a young man. I fought against the British imperialism and now, I am a free citizen of India which is a free independent country; I am an hon. Member of the sovereign Parliament. To prove the sovereignty of our country, I think the Prime Minister is correct in demanding an apology from the Queen and I appreciate it.

Thank you very much for the kindness and for the indulgence that you have shown to me.

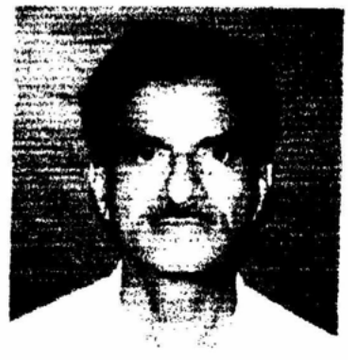
MR. SPEAKER : Thank you very much. Shri Kodanda Ramaiah.

Shri Kodanda Ramaiah, please take ten minutes only. You are a very disciplined man; you were in the police force and so, you would stick to that.

Though I am giving you ten minutes, I am sure, you would finish it in nine minutes.

SHRI P. KODANDA RAMAIAH (Chitradurga) : Sir, I will try to.

SHRI G.M. BANATWALLA (Ponnani) : Sir, you are a bit impatient in thanking a Member!



SHRI P. KODANDA RAMAIAH

SHRI P. KODANDA RAMAIAH : Sir, your suggestion is very broad and it cannot be missed.

Before I choose one or two subjects to speak upon, I would like to say something about the conduct of the House. You have been very ably handling the conduct of the hon. Members. But in spite of your firm handling of the affairs of the House, I still find that there is a lot of indiscipline in the House; and many a time we have observed and so did some leaders from the front benches that we are making a laughing-stock of ourselves in the view of the public. The Media has been portraying us in the manner they should, having seen us behave in the manner we do.

Even today we find a member who got up and tackled about discipline in the House. He was pained to see that people kept on shouting at each other, that they did not listen to each other; and he wanted that we should follow the rules. He even went to the extent of saying that if a Member is speaking and if another Member wants to speak, he must draw the attention of the Chair and only when the Chair gives the permission, the second Member should speak. I am happy that he said that. But then while continuing his speech, he was asked by the Chair at least half-a-dozen times to stop his speech; but he did not bother to stop it. I would not do it now. I would like to stop my speech as soon as you give me an indication that I should stop.

I am not casting aspersions on the House or on any of the members. But many Members from both the sides behave in such a manner that it pains me a lot. I know you are aware of it. I was in a disciplined Department; and it is not necessary that one should be in a Department to be disciplined in life. Discipline is an inborn trait. One need not be in Military or Police to have that. It has to be self-cultivated. I find that the Members do not cultivate it.

Most of the time, the time of the House is spent on discussing the affairs of Bihar or U.P. We would have two groups joining from that side and two groups joining from this side; and they would be exhibiting their lung power to the dissatisfaction and dismay of the entire nation. If a Member of one party raises one issue on U.P., another Member from another party joins him. A similar situation arises when Bihar is referred to. I find a slanging match between the two. So much so, on two occasions, Members rolled up their sleeves and started walking towards the well of the House probably with an intention of beating up each other.

Luckily, some Members in the Congress who support everybody from outside, intervened and stopped the members from coming to fisticuffs. Sir, I urge upon you and it is my earnest request to all the members of the House that they observe some decorum and some self-restraint and ensure that they follow the rules and always obey the orders or directions of the Speaker. It is a laudable objective that this session is convened to discuss certain national issues. This is the time for reconciliation. We have got the Rightist Parties, we have got the Centrist Parties and we have got the Leftist Parties. Naturally, there is bound to be difference of opinion on issues from amongst these parties. But what is required is, should there not be a consensus on some national issues? Today the tone was set by the Leader of the Opposition and he referred to some of the issues that were on the agenda.

Sir, I would like to choose specially one subject which is of a great importance to this country, that is, population problem. Today, we have got 960 million people in this country as against 361 million people in 1951. The decadal growth rate was 2.14 per cent between 1981 and 1991. This is one problem which is bothering the country and which is eating into the vitals of the growth of this country. We have been quietly sitting on a keg of gun powder and at the rate the population is growing, we are going to sink very soon. If we look at advanced countries like Australia and US, we find that Australia is about three times bigger than our country and it has got a population of 1.3 crore people, That is, the Australian continent has got a population of 13 million people. It is equivalent to the population growth of one year in this country. It would appear and we all know that each year, we produce one Australia and our size is one-third of the Australian continent. We are not bothered about it. The Government is not bothered about it. Some efforts were made during the Emergency, probably in a very wrong direction, to control this menace and that has boomeranged. Once the Emergency was lifted, we had given up the drive against controlling population. So much so, we are hesitant and we hesitate to talk about population control. There are grounds for various political parties not to touch it. Some people feel that personal law of a particular religion will be affected by imposing certain restrictions in the family planning area.

17.18 hrs.

[MR. DEPUTY-SPEAKER *in the Chair*]

It is time for us to take a hard look at this problem and unless this is controlled, no amount of effort involved in the deliberations here on in improving the rate of growth of economy or improving the GDP will solve the problem. For instance, we can quote that the food production has gone up by 400 per cent between 1961 and 1996. At the same time, if you see the availability of foodgrains to an average citizen, it has gone up only by 25 per cent. It would clearly indicate that despite 400 per cent growth in food production, we have not been able to give the minimum nutritional value to an average citizen of this country and that explains the seriousness of the situation of population explosion in the country. We have to give much of thought to this particular problem. This rate of growth of population has got a great bearing on food security, nutrition, health, employment, quality of life and distributive justice. When we have got this particular type of problem, we have to analyse why the population is growing. Are there any efforts on the part of the Government? Are there any social factors demotivating the population to go in for control of their family? When we see that we will find that many people in the village side are very superstitious about population growth and productive capacity. For example an average Indian family in the rural side believes that they must have a son to ensure that their parents go to heaven when they die.

It is called *'punnama naraka'*. To escape from *punnama naraka*, the parents should have a son. I know friends some of whom are highly educated. I know some legislators. I know some bank officers. They have got a daughter first. They have got a daughter in the second effort. They have a daughter in the third effort, fourth effort, fifth effort and finally, some of my friends gave up

and they ended up with only five daughters. A legislator friend of mine has continued this process in a similar fashion and he got the fifth issue as a son. He should have stopped at the fifth issue when he got a son. But then, he was a little greedy. He thought that he should have two sons. He thought that he should go in for more children and he got two more daughters after that. So, finally, he ended up with six daughters and one son. That is the attitude of even legislators and educated people. I know some doctors also who resort to these things. It is highly difficult for us to control the population with voluntary effort of either the Government or of individuals.

We also find that the girl child is the victim in the process. We have got foeticide happening all over the country, especially in what we call the 'cow belt'. We see the mothers going for tests of the foetus they are carrying. And once they come to know that it is a female foetus, they get it aborted. We also know of cases when girls are born. They are killed by the parents because they think that it is a burden to have a girl. This negative attitude towards the girl child has created many other problems in the society.

Six per cent of infants in our country die due to poor maternal health. The mother is not in a healthy condition. She gives birth to a child and the child is weak. And six per cent of the children born die because of that. A great number also die because of problems of diarrhoea caused by bad drinking water. This indicates the seriousness of the problem in the rural side. It is for the legislators like us and the Government departments to take note of these things and ensure that residual action is taken to stop these maladies in the rural side.

We have got a comparable country in the neighbourhood and that is China. China has got a population of 1,243 million people today. In spite of tremendous growth of the population in the last decade, China has been able to contain it. If you look at the statistics, with 1,243 million people in China, they have got a fertility rate of 1.80. India with 960 million population has got a fertility rate of 3.64 per cent which is double the rate of China. It is time that we take measures to ensure that our fertility rate is brought down and population growth rate is also brought down.

We have to aim at achieving a zero rate by 2025 and a minus rate of growth by 2050. Unless we ensure this, we are going to have a lot of problems. And it will be beyond us to remedy this.

Within India, you see differences. Kerela tops the list. They have been doing excellent work in the matter of family planning and control of population. You see the phenomena of schools being closed down in Kerala for want of children. Many private institutions are getting closed down because there are no boys and girls to attend schools in Kerala. I wish a situation of this type arises or occurs in Uttar Pradesh. It has got the highest fertility rate of 5.10 per cent followed by what we call the 'cow belt' of Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Bihar and Assam. These are the States which are contributing to the highest rate of growth and they do not seem to bother about it. These things have got to be controlled.

I propose to suggest a few measures before I conclude. Every person or family has got a natural urge to have a child of his or its own. It is a legitimate urge. It has to be understood and we all agree to that. But once you have got one child, can we allow everybody to have the second, the third and the fourth child? I am not trying to say that we have to have dictatorial measures of controlling it. But just after you have got a child, can you think of having a second child without certain norms, without the economic base on which you can sustain a second child? Is it not a time for us to ensure that we regulate the population in a way? After the first child is born and certain time-gap is arranged, we should regulate that there should not be second child in the family unless the family can show, to the satisfaction of whomsoever the Parliament authorises under the law, that, yes, they have got the capacity to bring up a second child or they have got the capacity to bring up a third child.

Then only they can have the second or the third child. It may look like a fantasy or it may look like a foolish suggestion. But then I venture to suggest it, it is because of the enormity of the problem that we are facing. Unless we go in for certain strict regulatory measures, we would not be able to achieve this population control by the year 2025.

Then we have got the incentives and disincentives which we can prescribe by law.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Please conclude now

SHRI P. KODANDA RAMAIAH : Sir, first of all we can try amongst the Government servants who are under our control and who could be controlled by a legislation I understand that the general public cannot be controlled But then we have to have certain measures. First, get it implemented for the Government servants and then for the employees of the public sector undertakings and thereafter we have to pass a legislation for controlling the rural side.

Sir, last but not least, I would suggest allocation or assignment of greater role to the non-Governmental Organisations who seen to be doing excellent work in this field in the rural areas. We lost faith in the Government machinery; we lost faith in the Government hospitals for controlling population. They seem to bother more about figures rather than about implementing the spirit of the population control measures. So, I urge upon the Government to give a greater role and greater financial assistance to good and healthy NGOs who are in the field and encourage them to control population.

Sir, I would like to suggest once again that instead of a general discussion on various subjects—we seem to touch about ten subjects in this discussion, the discussion is not focussed, the agenda is not focussed—can we think of saying that these are there subjects which are of national importance on which we should discuss, debate and come to a conclusion? There shall not be politics on these issues. If it is a family planning programme nobody should play politics with that. If it is a problem of national economy or a new Governmental economic policy, again we should debate the area in which we have to allow the private enterprises to enter and then we should not make it a controversial or a political issue. Like that we have to choose two or three subjects which are of national importance, which we can call the 'national priorities'. There should not be politicisation when we deal with such matters in this House.

Sir, thank you for having given me this opportunity to speak on the subject.

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES

[Translation]

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES (Nalanda) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we are pondering over our achievements and failures during the last fifty years in this special session. Along with that we are also visualising as to what we have to do in the coming fifty years.

First of all, I want to express my two worries pertaining to the last fifty years. First is related to language. Even after fifty years of independence, we have not been able to give a place of pride to Hindi and other national languages. Language is not only a means of interaction among people but it is also not restricted to medium of instructions only. Language is linked with our civilisation and our culture in which we have been brought up, and which is related to nation building. This country has not been able to sort out the question of National language over the last fifty years and when an Indian today speaks at the UNO or at any other forum, he feels proud while delivering speech in English whereas other people deliver their speeches there in their own national languages.

My second mental agony concerns our frontiers. We do not have our entire land in our possession which we had at the time of Independence. Don't we remember that today, not only because our 1,19,000 square miles of land is under occupation of China but also because our frontiers are not safe even today? On the other hand, China is asserting its claims over some parts of Arunachal Pradesh, Sikkim and the north-eastern Sector. Does this House not remember the Resolution which it had adopted in October, 1962 to this effect which envisaged that they would not keep quiet till they get back every inch of the land they had lost. I do not think, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, that this Parliament and the country will be able to make a good future for them and therefore I want to put forth these two points for consideration of the House; these are to say 'civilisation' and 'culture' of this country and the language linked to it and frontiers of this country. We call our country 'Mother India'. We raise a slogan 'Bharat Mata Ki Jai' (Hail unto the mother land) inside and outside this House. But some other people still have got strong hold on the neck of our Mother India. If we overlook that, this slogan of ours will remain only lip pleasure and that inspiration will not be reflected in that which one should have in one's mind and heart. Our Hon. Speaker has putforth many points for consideration of the House in his today morning speech. In one sentence of his speech he said that we got freedom through non-violent means. In that context, Shri Chitta Basu has just raised some objections to which I too agree. But he had expressed concern over the fact that why a country has been trapped in violence and criminalisation which got its freedom through non-violent means? He also said the following in his speech.

[English]

'Broad reviews of the present situation in the country have reflected the following causes for there phenomena.'

[Translation]

At page No. 3, he has given 13 such reasons which have brought our country to such a pass where violence, terrorism etc. are rampant. I do not want to mention all his 13 points which he has stated for our sorry state of affairs but I want to raise one of the points in this House. He has mentioned unemployment as no. I point and *[English]* iniquitans income distribution, *[Translation]* poverty and exploitation at Serial No. 2. I think about the situation in the country, the main reason for that situation and all sorts of problems that we discuss here. We accept that we have to defeat them. To my mind, the major reason for such sorry state of affairs in the country is unemployment and poverty which are just two sides of a coin. We talk of socio-economic inequality, regional imbalances and the conditions which have been created by all these factors in the country. Which now we view with surprise. We should not forget that unemployment and poverty are the sole reasons of such sorry state of affairs in the country.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, Assam is the most talked about issue now a days. The same is the case with 'ULFA'. It was 'AASU' before 'ULFA' which used to hit the headlines. The 'AASU' gave birth to 'ULFA'. This is not my version. But there used to be one All Assam Students Union which is still there, waging a struggle even today. The Members of the Assam Gana Parishad are present in the House or running the Government in Assam. Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, you would recall that these people had started their agitation and what that agitation was all about? That agitation had only one slogan that 'Foreigners residing in Assam, should Be Deported'. Our friends belonging to the Shiv Sena are sitting here. When our friends Shri Bal Thackeray formed the Shiv Sena what was the slogan of the Shiv Sena? They used to say that the marathi youth were facing death after becoming unemployed because the non-Marathi people were snatching away employment opportunities from them and these non-Marathi people should be thrown out of Maharashtra to provide employment to the Marathi people and in the aftermath of their ouster, the Shiv Sena outfit came into existence and the agitation of All Assam Students Union was on the same line. Similarly the 'ULFA' had started its agitation for the similar reasons which we dub as militant agitation etc. If we take the example of Andhra Pradesh, there is an outfit named as Peoples War Group. Whose outfit is it after all? This is an outfit of none other than those who are the most exploited, poor and the unemployed people of our society. These are the people who have got themselves organised. If we see these agitations for ourselves in any region of the country, then we will come to know about the reality. We discuss Kashmir situation in this House time and again and Pakistan comes in the picture but we never gave any attention to the problems being faced by Kashmiri people like the extant of unemployment, nature of unemployment, which section of the society has got employment and which did not and as a result of which, what sort of difficulties had to be faced by them? I think prevailing unemployment is the root-cause of all such problems in the country. When the question of social justice is raised, when the issue of reservation comes up, it may be the case of reservation in schools-colleges, in the field of employment or in any other field of the country, if we could provide employment to the entire unemployed population of the country, then who would have asked for reservation? We do not address ourselves to the main problem, we do not try to find out the root-cause of any problem but on the basis of symptoms, we try to find out a solution as a result of which we do not find right solution to the problem. We have been in the same situation for the last 50 years.

Therefore, I want that we would consider afresh the developmental structure of the country. You will say that many points have been discussed in this House on the topic. Our Hon. Speaker, has today itself used the terms like 'New Economic Policy', 'Globalisation', 'Liberalisation' etc. And I am sure that we will hear more discussions on this topic in the next four days but you know that we are one of those who oppose this policy. We had also opposed this policy before it was formulated and when the Dunkel proposals were discussed, we had opposed them in side as well as out side this House at that point of time and in the same background we oppose it to this day.

We have heard the name of Davos. Many people go there and every Prime Minister is supposed to go there and many Chief Ministers also necessarily go their. Other people also have to go there along with them.

What happens there, I don't want to go into its details here but his mentor 'clide smadja' of Davos who visits India more frequently than others, had delivered a long speech before the confederation of Indian Industry in Delhi 5–7 days back on 20th August, I would like to quote him so that the House could know what his mentor says. Let us try to understand it since he is also a Grand master in the use of dub words.

[English]

'Free-market policies, while indispensable for economics, can cause hardship to people and throw up problems for which there are yet no solutions.'

[Translation]

'Your mentor is saying so ... *(Interruptions)* All are not saying it. You people are completely swayed by his arguments.'

[English]

'The impact of globalisation is already being felt in Europe where people have lost the predictability and sense of security that Characterised their lives for years and which was seen as hallmarks of civilised societies.'

[Translation]

He further says—

[English]

'For individuals, this means they should be capable of alternating between jobs, orienting themselves to the most competitive productive units and product lines at a given point of time or they will perish.'

[Translation]

I don't want to read out his complete speech. He further adds—

[English]

'In this race, the unskilled and the average-skilled are vulnerable, Mr. Smadja noted. They have to be protected. But Governments no longer have the resources to provide welfare schemes because they do not want to tax their corporates.'

[Translation]

It means these Governments do not want to impose tax on the capitalists. The Government ruling over here owes its existence to these Governments responsible for implementing this policy and is pursuing the same set of policies.

[English]

'They do not want to tax their corporates so much as to take away their competitive edge in the global framework'.

[Translation]

This is a mere argument and a game of words.

[English]

'With its emphasis on cutting cost and upgrading quality, globalisation will mean that workers wages will remain unchanged even when their productivity goes up.'

[Translation]

and, in the end.

[English]

'This is not restricted to private employees, even State entrepreneurs will be bound by these rules.'

[Translation]

And further.

[English]

'If you do not pay attention to this we are heading for big trouble at national and global level.'

[Translation]

I am not bothered about what will happen in any part of the world, but I am bothered about what will happen in my country. The people were impressed by clide Smadja's speeches, I don't know what will be the comments and what will be the reaction of these people on what ever clide Smadja has said not in Davos but here in Delhi. I also don't know what solution they will find out of it. That's why we feel the need for bringing changes in policies. I am not saying that the earlier policies were correct. I also do not mean that whatever had been said here in the name of so called socialism was right. I neither had any faith in it at that time nor do I have any faith in it now. That's why I am not going into it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I feel that we will have to find out the means of tapping the existing manpower of the country and never allow it to perish. We will have to follow the path shown by Gandhiji for proper utilisation of manpower. Gandhiji's name has been mentioned here time and again but why? Every year, on 2nd October, we customarily follow the ritual of going in front of Gandhiji's statue by way of remembering him. However, if we repeat the same practice here, it will not help. We have to adopt Gandhiji's outlook again in the country. We must learn and follow it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the hon'ble Speaker of Lok Sabha has mentioned in his speech that we have also started promoting multinational companies, but I am sorry to say, Sir, that we will not be able to establish multinational companies in accordance with their present day concept. The General Motors and Ford Motors Company of America are the two biggest companies of the world. The Ford Motors manufactures other items besides vehicles. The total turnover of both the companies during the last year exceeded the national income of India by 1 lakh crore rupees and even then we think in terms of establishing multinational companies.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, it doesn't mean that we or our nation should not become ambitious. We and our country should have ambitions but it should be within certain limit. The ambition of my country should be not to let anyone sleep with empty stomach. Our ambition should be to feed each and every citizen of the country. Our ambition should not be to somehow manage to afford and enjoy the luxury of five star hotels like the white people or raise ourselves to that level.

Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, we shall have to pay special attention towards two-three areas. One is agriculture sector. I would like to say that all States have started enacting such laws under land ceiling Act which I think will result in corporatisation of Agriculture. This is a conspiracy towards which I had pointed in this House six years back. Multinational companies will also step into it. The process has already started in Maharashtra. They have started purchasing land because it is provided in law that if a company sets up even small factory in a small shed, it can aquire as many thousands of hectares of land, as it desires. This is happening in Karnataka. Similarly, this procedure is also being adopted in other States. That's why, I would like to caution that we should put a check on the attempts being made towards corporatisation of the country and harming the interests of the farmers.

The second point to which the hon. Speaker has also drawn attention is that we should boost our export but one sentence in hon. Speaker's Address irks me. He stated that if the export was to be boosted, we should first increase our import.

[English]

We expand our imports if we are going to have exports.

[Translation]

Today the population of India is around one hundred crore. We are a nation. Had this country not been a nation and had it been merely a land having a population of one hundred crore and had there been several nations then our trade would have been an international trade and we would have made tremendous export-import from Maharashtra to Karnataka, Karnataka to Bengal and from Bengal to Bihar. Our economy is continental size economy. The population of America is 25 crore. Our population is four times more than this. American economy is not based on its export. Its export is optimum but its economy is not based on its exports, it is based on its domestic market. India should also go in for the production of items and goods which may cater to the need of people of the country. What is the difficulty? Today, Sharad Ji referred to shortage of oil. The Government should limit its exports to the extent to which the country is able to earn foreign exchange needed for oil import and it should take all the steps necessary for the import of machinery and technology. But the outflow of foreign exchange of the country to other countries through different channels, should be stopped. Today, vehicles of various models of such companies can be seen in abundance on the Indian roads, which could hardly sell 5000 or 25000 vehicles. All such companies have set up their factories in India. They did not provide us technology but brought kits from their countries, assembled here and sold their product in the market. Today, we are witness to the industrial wars of big and multinational companies like cola war, between Pepsi Cola and Coca Cola and we Indians are being used in this war to capture Indian market.

If a suitable and appropriate policy is to be formulated, we shall have to follow Gandhian path. But at the same time, we will have to enact a law to guarantee the right to work to its citizens, because if right to work is not guaranteed to me then right to life and right to live will be meaningless for me. Therefore, if right to work is enacted as a law after introducing a Bill in this regard in the next session in this Fiftieth year of Independence, we shall be convinced that the Government is taking a concrete step to bring some change in the country. Political people do not like it. I have noticed that several political parties including the Left parties do not like the right to work. There is a reason behind it. The day when right to work is guaranteed to us by law and the people get the right to approach the courts for their employment, the system in which some people have vehicles worth Rs 25-50 lakh whereas some others undergo starvation, will collapse

one day automatically or the people will break it. Therefore, it is not easy to do so. But if the country is to be developed then there is no other option except this.

The Government should also revert to swadeshi wherein tiny and small industries thrive and as I stated that the Gandhian path is the path of swadeshi.

You have warned me by ringing the bell but I shall take 2–4 minutes more ...*(Interruptions)* I shall conclude my speech after making 2–3 points more. I shall not go in detail on the point related to human resources which has been put here for discussion. But if we maintain the present system of education, we will continue in the same state for the next fifty years, as we are today and the country will also experience no change and secondly, it will not serve any purpose. There are thousands of primary schools in my Parliamentary constituency which have neither buildings nor sitting arrangements. Such schools lack almost all facilities. My entire Parliamentary constituency rather entire Bihar and specially central Bihar is submerged in water, Barh—the parliamentary Constituency of Shri Nitish Kumar is also submerged. Children have no education facility there. I would like to know the system to be evolved to provide them facilities and opportunities for further education and the time by which these facilities would be provided. I do not believe in promises. I would like to know about time bound programmes to be chalked out regarding education because there are several aspects of this problem. There is money based education on the one hand and the privatisation on the other hand and the third aspect of the problem is to provide qualitative and free education to the poor and rural children. All the three points are so contradictory in themselves that I fail to rely on these policies.

Therefore, the Govt. should chalk out a universal and uniform policy to provide uniform education upto a certain standard. Many countries have this system for imparting education and such arrangements should be made in our country also.

Secondly, we talk much about human resource but the vast manpower and youth power is not being utilised which is a matter of concern for us. I would also like to draw the attention of the House towards one more problem which is related to the future of the country and that is smuggling of narcotic drugs from across the border. Our country is located at the periphery of Golden Triangle comprising of Myanmar, Thailand and China which produce 30 per cent opium and heroin of the world. A two page article on this matter appeared in 'Time' magazine on December 21. After obtaining permission from the Government, the correspondent of 'Time' magazine visited More, took pictures and made enquiries from the people of the area and then put the facts and related information before the world. 'Time', is the best circulating English weekly in the world. But the facts provided by the 'Time' magazine are the information which a person like me has been providing inside and outside the House for a long time but nobody paid attention to it. The information provided by the magazine was that opium and heroin worth Rs. one lakh twenty thousand crore were being smuggled through more routes in India to other countries and Secondly the correspondent of the magazine inquired from the top officials of the Department of Security. Whether the security personnel were also involved in the smuggling? He replied,

[English]

"No, that is not right. All of them are involved."

[Translation]

It was the reply of our security chief. Has the attention of the Government of India not been drawn to this megazine? There might have been some dispute among the Constituent parties but did they not go through the magazine dated December 21? Was some enquiry made in this regard? The problem of drugs and opium is not only related to the smuggling of these items and the alleged involvement of security officials but it is also related with the security of the country. Secondly, the drugs smuggled so, carry AIDS virus. A news item has appeared in today's newspaper that the number of AIDS patients in Manipur has increased alarmingly in comparison to any other part of the world. I would like to know whether any campaign launched in Manipur for this purpose. We talk much about human resource but lakhs of youth between age group of 18 and 25 years in Manipur, Nagaland and North Eastern States are jobless and have become opium addict. We talk of package for the people of these States but actually no package is being given to them. Those who go there with a package, return without giving any package, as a result of it no development has been undertaken in the area. Therefore, a debate should be initiated in the House to stop the smuggling of opium from More and Myanmar and the virus of AIDS with the smuggled goods. We represent small party but we have decided to form a human chain on October 2 at More taking the issue as a national issue and have decided to stop the smuggling of opium and its products from Myanmar to India. I want that the House should consider this issue today. ...*(Interruptions)*

COL. RAO RAM SINGH (Mahendragarh) : Do you think that the road will be constructed?

SHRI GEORGE FERNANDES : Our Government is constructing road in Myanmar by spending Rs. 120 crore. That is a separate issue and I am not going to speak on it due to paucity of time.

Lastly, I would like to speak on election and corruption. I am not going to speak on the situation prevailing in 1947 because then neither Parliament nor the Constituent Assembly was in existence. The Parliament came into existence only in 1951. There was Provisional Parliament at that time, say in 1950. A person by the name of Mudgal came from Bombay as a Member of the House in 1951. He had committed no sin except sending a typed letter to an association. Bombay Bullion Merchants Association dealing in gold and silver. It was stated in the letter addressed to the merchants that nobody spoke on their problems in the House. The need of the hour was that Government should be convinced through the hon. Member of Parliament and for this purpose Rs. ten thousand were needed to meet the expenditure on account of refreshment of the Member etc. But he did not say that bring the money in suitcase during night or send the briefcase. The association passed resolution to the effect that it would provide Rs. one thousand as the first instalment and not a lump sum amount of Rs. ten thousand. I do not know as to what happened after that but Pt. Nehru came to know about it. Some hon. Members referred to the greatness of Nehruji time and again in the House today. Pt. Nehru called Mr. Mudgal to his office Room No. 9 and asked about the wrong committed by him. He replied that he did nothing wrong. Then Pt. Nehru issued him chargesheet and show cause notice. He was issued notice as a member by his party leader. When his reply was not found satisfactory. Pt. Nehru moved a resolution in the House to constitute a five member committee. The said committee in its decision said that it did not behave a member to propagate inside and outside the Parliament the monetary transactions with a commercial firm as it lowered the dignity of the House. Therefore, he should be expelled. A resolution to this effect was passed by the House.

Today, we are sitting in the same House and here too men of different hue and colour are present but it seems that all of us have become cowards. When everyone knows that wrong persons are present in the House, hence we lost our courage to identify them? Chief Election Commissioner stated that there are 40 such members. Therefore, Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, when there is discussion on the dignity of the House then it does not merely relate to the presence of the Members and creating uproarious scenes. Dr. Lohia used to say that the Parliament should be viewed as an institution reflecting sorrows, pleasures, hopes and aspirations of the people of the country.

18.00 hrs.

It does not mean that we should go to the well of the House and manhandle our fellow members. To reflect the hopes and aspirations of the people we should raise their problems in the House and lead the life on a common man. I am not saying that when we are reflecting the hopes and aspirations of the people, we should starve. But our lives should represent and reflect their problems and difficulties. Therefore, when we talk of dignity of the House, we have before us an instance of 1951. There are many books on Mudgal case. I suggest than hon. Member should read small book on Mudgal case available in the library. I hope that the House will muster courage once again to disqualify the tainted Members, only then something can be done.

Lastly, I would like to speak on corruption. We are perturbed due to our hon. Prime Minister and we have some anguish that he should has maintained his dignity. This is very sad on his part that he suggests us to resort to Satyagraha. Where should we go for Styagraha? I want to resort to Satyagraha? I want to resort to Satyagraha but where? At Prime Minister's residence? With how many supporters? Hundred? What will the police do? The police will stop us with the help of lathi and if anyone of us expressed his anger, he will be lathicharged by the police and taken away to the hospital. But is it necessary for us to do so? Then what for are the ruling benches here? Just to suggest others to resort to Satyagraha! What will they do? They will go to solace them and preach before them. I fail to understand the strategy. Therefore, when it comes to corruption, I have always reiterated this. The first thing is that everyone should be equal before the law. Corruption cannot be eradicated when a person stealing five rupees gets six months emprisonment and a person doing embezzlement of Rs. ten thousand from the exchequer, is honoured. If this dual yardstick is adopted, corruption cannot be eradicated from the country.

Secondly, we have been hearing about transparency since long back. When it would be brought. Why is it not being brought, what is the hitch? Who will get exposed? I know that bureaucracy does not want it. I know that politicians also don't want it. But what is the opinion of this House? It should be decided once for all. When we argue about the dignity of the House, respect for the Member of Parliament and the rights of the courts, why every person should not be treated equally before law so far as transparency is concerned? Why are we not prepared for these two things? Therefore, I request the august House that these two things should be taken up in the next session for implementation. With this, I would like to say that it would serve the purpose only when it is implemented. But no one among us would be in the House after fifty years. If we want to have a discussion about the next fifty years, it must be done. But first, the

discussion should be about the next fifty days. We should discuss as to what we have to do in the next fifty days or in the next fifty weeks. In other words, we should chalk out the activities to be taken up before the dissolution of this House because it is feared that the House may be dissolved soon. Preparations are going on in this regard. In fact, the election campaign has started from today itself. Didn't you hear the speech of the new leader today? That was an election speech. He even forgot that he was addressing the Chair. He addressed us as 'brothers and sisters' not once but twice in his speech. The election campaign has started. The key is in the hands of those who have asked him to speak. Therefore, I would like that this solution should be for next few months or till the prorogation of the House.

Sir, I thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak. Here we can express our views without any hesitation. Before concluding, I would like to add a few more points—first, 'Swadeshi' and secondly, a national resolution in this House. We would not take rest until we take back every inch of our land which is in unlawful possession. We should make a review of this resolution. Thirdly, an Ethics Committee should immediately be constituted by this House. The Committee should take up all the cases as was done in Mudgal case. We should take concrete steps in the direction of solving the economic problems of this country by making the right to employment as fundamental right.

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE (Tarantaran) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, I thank you for giving me an opportunity to speak in this special session on the occasion of Golden Jubilee of Independence. I am also grateful to my party, Shiromani Akali Dal for nominating me to speak on this occasion. It is a matter, of happiness that we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee of Independence. If you take a glance at the history of India, you would find that India remained under subjugation for a long time because of our mistakes. If you see the history of India after Chandragupta Maurya, Vikramaditya and thereafter, you would find that foreigners ruled over India. They reached Somnath temple trampling down thousands of Indians. Why the Indians could not stop them at that time? It is because we lacked unity and India was divided in small princely states. If you see the history of one thousand years, you would find that so many dynasties of foreign rulers ruled over India. It is another thing that in South India, in Rajasthan and in many other places, the patriots of that time fought against the foreign rule. Shivaji, Maharana Pratap and Guru Govind Singh fought against the foreign rulers in Maharashtra, Rajasthan and Punjab respectively. They had vowed that they would end the rule of foreigners. It is a long history. The policy of the British rulers was to divide and rule. Their policy was to divide the Indians and rule over them. They also ruled over India for about 200 years, i.e from the year of battle of Plassey to 1947. It is another thing that there were some small states in India which were independent and some states had accepted their subjugation. The so-called independent states were also under the subjugation of the British rule. Punjab also came under British rule after the demise of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and there also, the British ruled for hundred years. They ruled India with the help of the policy of divide and rule. There is a long history of our freedom struggle which was started by our great patriots. As the freedom movement gained momentum, the British started yielding to the pressure. Sometimes they offered Minto-Morley reforms. At other time they offered the 1935 Act. This House was also constituted at that time when we got some rights.

At that time we were not fully independent. As the freedom movement gained momentum, there came radicals and liberals. All these people participated in the freedom struggle. The incident of Jalianwala Bagh aroused the conscience of the people of the country and they could come to know as to what was the real face of the British rule. Everybody knows as to what happened at Jalianwala Bagh near Harminder Saheb. I would not like to go into that. At that time the Gurudwaras and the Golden Temple were under the possession of sycophant Mahants. They were of pro-British rule and did everything that pleased Britishers. At that time, no Sikh or any other person was allowed to speak against the Britishers. Very few people know the reasons behind the Jalianwala Bagh massacre. The reason behind the incident was that after the 1919 war, some retired army personnel came there. Some of them belonged to Scheduled Caste communities. They were earlier in the British army. They said that they will go only after offering 'Bhog' and 'Prasada' at Darbar Saheb. The hatred against the Shudras in the society was further aggravated by the Mahants who said that the 'Bhog' offered by the 'Shudras' cannot be accepted

in 'Darbar Saheb'. People strongly protested against this attitude and launched a struggle claiming that Shudras are also human beings. This is a historic incident. In this connection orders of Guru Granth were referred to in the Har Mandir Saheb. The order was very clear as per which all are equal before the God and nobody is superior or inferior. Thereafter 'Bhog' offered by all people, irrespective of their belonging to any caste is accepted in Har Mandir Saheb.

Earlier, Hindu temples were out of bounds for the Shudras in the country. The Britishers understood the inherent weakness in our caste system and wanted to teach the Mahantas a lesson, who, according to them, had surrendered before the shudras. The people had assembled for the struggle in Jalianwala Bagh. In addition to that a call was given by Mahatma Gandhi. Besides the Britishers wanted to teach a lesson to Punjabis. All these factors added to General Dyers ire. To order firing in Jalianwala Bagh. The number of people who were killed in Jalianwala Bagh on that day is a matter of history. If one goes through history he will also come to know about it. A Britisher has written that the Jalianwala Bagh incident shook the British rule. Had this incident not taken place, the common man of India would not have become so serious. This incident opened the eyes of all people. After that what happened is a very long story. Many acts were enacted and martial laws imposed. It was only then that the country marched towards independence. The Quit India Movement was launched and the Britishers were given an ultimatum to quit India. Today some people take the credit for that but the fact remains that at that time freedom movement had gained momentum. At that time, the Sikhs, Hindus, Muslims—all participated in that movement. Mahatma Gandhi was in the forefront of the struggle and every one had faith in him. He was a Congress man. After independence, he had said that after acquiring power, we might become corrupt, therefore, the Congress should be wound up. All the parties sitting in this House at present were united at that time and Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were our national leaders. They were not the leaders of Congress Party alone. All people had faith in them and all made sacrifices under their leadership and went to jail. Thousands of people went to Kamagatamaru and Port Blair. People were left in the island, known as Kala Pani in those days. In the recent past, it has been made a national Museum. The names of our patriots are written in the solitary confinement cells where they stated. I have seen the cellular jail where no one could enter in a straight posture and from where one could not see the other prisoner. All of us must visit that. One can imagine from that as to how much sacrifice those people made for getting India free. The sacrifices made by other patriotic people after that is a matter of history. Today, we have to think as to why our country was subjugated for so long? Today the hon. Speaker said that we have to see what were the achievements of fifty years and what we have lost during this period? Then we will have to see what we have to do in the coming time. My point is that we must learn a lesson from the past. There is no National Integration, no solidarity in our country. This feeling must be there. Till the stigma of Shudras on our country is not wiped out and they are not given the equal status, our country cannot progress. I remember a couplet of Maulana Iqbal.

"Aah Ke Liye Hindustan Gamkhana Hai,
Darde Insani Se Is Basti Ka Dil Begana Hai."

Is Ram not there is my heart? Are they people not human beings? Since the time India became free, their participation is very negligible in nation building. They say that they are not being treated as human beings, and they are not treated equally. That is why they say that they have nothing to do with independence or other things and they won't join the mainstream. They are isolated. The country cannot make progress as long as we do not take them together with us. For getting notes we say a lot of things but what is their status in the society, we must pay attention towards them.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Your party had been allotted 16 minutes. 16 minutes are over now.

...(Interruptions)

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : First you listen. The names of four hon'ble members of your party are there. 16 minutes are already over. You should now conclude.

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE : Barnala Saheb told me that I need not speak now. That is why I left. I don't know where has he gone? He has invited me here. He may take the remaining time. I am not saying anything wrong. I am talking about the past history. People have great faith and hope in Lok Sabha. I have to speak a little bit about this. I will come to the next point leaving behind the old one.

AN HON. MEMBER : He is speaking on a very good topic. He should speak on it only. He is also a Shudra.

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE : He does not allow me to speak on it.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Had you been sitting here at my place, you would have done the same thing.

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE : I hug all shudras and I am also a shudra. If I quote Guru Nanak Dev Ji,

they will say that I am talking about religion. He talked about the unity and said all are equal and united. You can verify it at anytime. These days doctors have become very expert. People have 'A', 'B', and 'C' blood groups. Untouchables do not have any different types of blood. They have also 'A', 'B' and 'C' blood groups.

After a lot of struggle and sacrifice, India got freedom. At present the country is in great danger. When there are elections, people start looking towards this House. This is the temple of the people of India. The people of the entire country entertain a hope that they would get something. Of course, it is not a religious temple but I think that the people have that much regard for it. On the one hand the Government wants welfare of the nation and the common people but on the other various promises are not fulfilled. I would like to say that—

"Choon Khufra Aj Kaba Barkejad
Kuja Manad Musalmani."

If falsehood is allowed to raise its head here, it would spread through out the country. If humanity practised here it will spread throughout the length and breadth of the country. If truth is not spoken here the expectations of the people of the country cannot be fulfilled. When the issue of corruption is talked about in the corridors here and when matters related to big people appear in the newspapers daily, it becomes a sorry affair. There are no equals of Pandit Jawahar Lal Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi as leaders. There is no doubt that we have seen three Prime Ministers and this House feels proud that no one can raise a finger against them, but whatever happened before that is a matter of shame. They have made their categorisation with regard to corruption. If you indulge yourself in corruption, it would percolate to the lowest level. I am happy that those who are sitting in the House have made of their mind not to repeat the past. But whatever has happened is a matter of shame for all. We should look forward and ensure that henceforth no one rises his finger against representatives of people, elected to the Lok Sabha by about ten lakh people. That will set a good precedent in the country. I would like to say something more.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Now the time is over, you please conclude.

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE : I would like to submit a few more points. My colleagues have spoken a lot which I would not like to repeat. I belong to the border area and represent the people of border who fought two wars against Pakistan. These were fought on the soil of Taran Taran, Amritsar and border areas in 1965 and 1971. The proxy war is still on in Assam, Jammu and Kashmir and Punjab. It is a matter of happiness that the people of Punjab brought this phenomenon under their control and now there is peace in the area. I would like to say here that the people all over the country should pay attention towards the crisis the country is faced with. I want to ask you about the fighting which have taken place in Kashmir day before yesterday. During the Prime Minister's visit, we were also present there. I want to know whether Dr. Farooq could meet the challenge on his own. Insurgency is going on in Assam, the Assam Government cannot fight against it on its own. Until the entire country stands behind them and provides all sorts of assistance to them, as was done in Punjab.

I want to say something more *i.e.* barbed wire fencing has been erected along the Pakistan border in Punjab. We have seen the situation in Jammu and Kashmir and Assam. All factory owners are fleeing from there. The people of Gujarat and Maharashtra say that factories should be set up there but nobody bothers to visit there and to explore the feasibility for the same. There may be many persons in this House who might have Army background. Many ex-servicemen are presently members of this House. A number of army officers might have witnessed the war being waged there. The other people might not even have seen the wars going on Punjab and Jammu and Kashmir. We are happy that hon. Prime Minister is also present here. I would like that all the land lying across the barbed wire fencing should be acquired by the Government. People cannot do farming there because firing has been going on from across the border, what will they do there? Beyond the border, where there is Pakistani land, people are living in pitiable conditions. In 1971, our Defence forces had constructed bridges at some places, but these bridges have collapsed either because of heavy rain of due to the expiry of their valid life, you just think of how these people are leading their lives. MPs of all parties visited there. ...*(Interruptions)*

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : You were to speak for 16 minutes but you have taken 24 minutes. My problem is this that I have to accommodate other members also. The Hon. Speaker has asked me not to give more than 10 minutes time to any speaker.

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE : At the borders where our forces had fought, we ourselves had moved towards Lahore carrying ammunition on our shoulders. We have fought wars of 1965 and 1971. At least some care should be taken for those who are living along the border. In Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab and Assam, in all three States where proxy war is going on, if this House keeps quiet and says that we will not even share the expenditure likely to be incurred in fighting insurgency there, then it is regrettable. The entire House should ponder over this. I am also a member of the Committee on Defence. I would like to tell you that the Jammu administration has employed Ladhakh scouts. There was a sikh officer. I had visited the place two months back. I asked him that what type of job do they assign to them? He told me that they had knowledge about all the areas. They know

about each and every part of area they. There are more beneficial for us because if we recruit new soldiers to our battalion from outside they do not have as much knowledge about the area as these scouts have.

[English]

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Shri Ananth Kumar to speak now Shri Uboke, please sit down. I have called the next member.

[Translation]

SHRI MAJOR SINGH UBOKE : I would like to urge upon the Prime Minister that just as personnel from the Ladhakh scouts have been recruited by you to your battalions, in the same way, people of the border areas of Punjab can protect their homes from the enemy in a better way than the personnel recruited from outside those areas. I will urge upon the Prime Minister that due attention should be given towards this aspect, particularly in these three States where proxy war is still continuing. There is no industry for employing the people of these areas. What is the State of affairs in Jammu and Kashmir? People used to do some embroidery work there but that has also been ruined. Similarly small factories have also been ruined. The Government should do something there.

With these words I conclude my speech and thank you.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : I have to make a submission. It has been decided that no M.P. would speak for more than 10 minutes.

Shri Ananth Kumar.

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR

[English]

SHRI ANANTH KUMAR (Bangalore South) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, the discussion is about the percolation of democracy to the grass-roots. Actually, when my senior colleagues spoke, all of them were allowed to speak for more than 20–25 minutes. I expect, being a Lok Sabha Member for the first time and also being a backbencher, that in this Special Session at least the democracy should percolate to the backbenchers.

At the outset, I congratulate both the Hon. Speaker and the Hon. Deputy Speaker for convening this special session to mark Indian Independence. But before proceeding with my speech, I want to bring two or three important points to your notice.

A document has been circulated "Fifty Years of Indian Parliamentary Democracy". In the first page of the same document, as already both my senior colleagues Shri George Fernandes and Shri Chitta Basu have pointed out, it is said, "India achieved independence from foreign rule after a non-violent struggle hitherto unparalleled in the annals of world history." Only this much has been written. There is no mention of any armed struggles. If there is no mention of any armed struggle in such a document, when we are commemorating our 50th Year of Indian Independence, if we do not remember Chhatrapati Shivaji who started *Hindvi Swaraj* agitation, Rana Pratap, Sardar Bhagat Singh, Jhansi Rani Laxmibai, Kittoor Rani Chennamma, Alluri Sita Rama Raju and Veera Pandya Kattabomman, that means we are leaving the entire galaxy of freedom fighters who fought the armed struggle for Indian independence. Therefore, I request the hon. Deputy Speaker to correct this distortion in this basic document.

Secondly, as my senior colleague, Shri George Fernandes has already pointed out, this Parliament during the last 47 years has adopted two unanimous resolutions. One Resolution was in October, 1962 just after the Chinese invasion to retrieve every inch of the lost land of Indian territory and the second Resolution was in 1995 proclaiming loud and clear that Pak-occupied Kashmir is an indivisible part of India, Hindustan Bharat.

These are the two unanimous resolutions this Parliament has adopted in the last 47 years. I feel that during this Special Session, it becomes the duty of this Parliament to reiterate these two unanimous resolutions once again and pledge that we regain our lost territory and we maintain our integrity also.

The country is lingering about viability of this democracy whether this democracy is all right for us. There is an amount of despondency among the people. People feel that democracy is not functioning.

I remember when our senior leader Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee visited Mangalore, in the huge public meeting one of the audience got up and said "Sir, democracy has failed". Then Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee rightly said — he said the same thing in this House also—that "My

dear friend, democracy has not failed. We are failing democracy." This is what the entire country is feeling. Democracy is not new to our country. It is inherited by our country right from *the Vedas. The Vedas* have made three proclamations:—

"Aano Bhadra Kritva Yetu Vishwateh"

"Let noble thoughts come to us from all the corners of the world."

"Sarve Janah Sukhino Bhawantoo"

It means "Not happiness of the majority of the people, but happiness of every one."

"Vasudhev Kutumbkam"

That means "The whole world as a family."

We never thought of a small concept of a global village. We went further and said "*Vasudeiva Kutumbkam*" which means that the entire universe is a family. Even during the period of Lord Mahavira, Lord Buddha, Ashoka and Lord Basaveswara from Karnataka, we had an *Anubhava Mantapa*, a first kind of parliamentary democracy about 800 years back. Democracy has been the hallmark of Indian culture. Even during autocracy later under many Maharajas, Consultation was there. But because of invasions, the invasion of the Mughals, the invasion of the foreign aggressors and later because of the British foreign rule, this democratic fibre, this democratic spirit got suppressed in our country.

Again, in this document, in his speech, the hon. Speaker has said that we had two Wars of Indian Independence. I humbly submit to disagree with this statement. I feel that we are on to the third War of Indian Independence. The first War was from 1857 to 1947. The second War was from 1975 to 1977 against the dark days of emergency which was meant to blemish the democratic fibre of this country. Now, again, we are on the path of the third struggle of democracy. Therefore, I feel that this is the third War of democracy.

The three limbs of democracy are the parliament, the party and the people. In the last fifty years, our democracy, which is especially run on the pedestal of the party system, is losing its sanctity because the parties are losing internal democracies. The parties are being run by vested interests and a few people, a coterie and even an individual. The whole world is amazed that the Election Commission and the Supreme court had to intervene to restore internal democracy in some of the parties in our country to hold elections and to make them accountable. The hereditary rule is still on its rampage.

Today morning, we heard the speech of our Congress leader and Member of Parliament Shri Madhavrao Scindia. He went on taking the names of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Indiraji and Rajivji. But somehow, I am surprised to find that he missed Sardar Patel's name; he missed Lal Bahadur Shastri's name. He did not mention those names. That means that the major party, which ruled the country for almost 42 years, claims that it governed the country for 42 years and it is totally enmeshed in the hereditary rule.

About criminalisation of politics, the Election Commission has made its observations. Regarding corruption, the hon. Prime Minister has said from the ramparts of the Red Fort that *Satyagraha* should be started. I want to ask the hon. Prime Minister whether the *Satyagraha* should be started in the PMO's Office because, as Shri Atal Bihari Vajpayee has said, in all the 149 cases, the CBI is putting forth to the PMO's Office to get a clearance to proceed further. But why is he withholding it? Why is he not leading the *Satyagraha* by giving sanction to proceed with those 149 cases? I would like to know whether by the end of this four-day Special Session, our hon. Prime Minister, as a torchbearer of this *Satyagraha* against corruption, will come out with a statement saying that he is giving the green signal to the CBI to proceed in all the 149 cases. I want to ask him this question. If he takes that step, then, I agree that he is a *satyagrahi* and he really wants to do a *satyagraha* against corruption.

There are a few things which require national consensus, not a contrived consensus but a natural consensus. Regarding development, we require an alternative model of governance. We require an alternative model of development. This model of governance and this model of development has failed to deliver the goods. Therefore, there is a need for change.

Do you not think that it is high time that after fifty years of Independence, we should have gone in for a commission to have a fresh look at our constitution to make suitable changes and amendments so that we can change the pattern of the Government, model of the Government? Do you not think that there is a need in this country to think over whether we require a presidential form of Government or not to stop all this horse-trading that takes place? The country is totally suffering from three great menaces. One is casteism, linguistic chauvinism and regionalism. If the entire polity has to surmount all these menaces and remain as one entity, one country, there is need for a change in the model of the Government. Therefore, I feel that a commission should be appointed to have a fresh look at the Constitution so that we will have an alternative model of Government.

Secondly, there are so many veterans and elders here who have been in Parliament for the last 25 to 30 years either as Ministers or otherwise. They all will be giving many suggestions, they will be making many relevant and valid points. I would like to know whether all these things will end up as a talking show or whether

we will enlist all these suggestions. Therefore, I urge upon you as also the hon. Speaker that a Special Session should be convened before the end of the *Swarna Jayanti* celebrations, that is, within a year, if the Parliament survives without going in for a mid-term polls, to see that some of the suggestions are legislated upon. There is no use of only resolving a point. There should be a will also to reform through legislative action. Therefore, there is a need for a special session to legislate the resolve by way of reforms.

Next point is about the national agenda. There should be a commission to look into the Constitution for finding out an alternative model of governance. There should be a national agenda to go ahead with an alternative model of development. There should be a special session two legislate the resolve through reforms. I feel, these are the three things that you should consider. I hope that India has to internal resilience and we as the torch-bearers of Indian polity and as the representatives of the highest legislative forum in the country, Parliament, should ingrain ourselves with the conduct to lead and capacity to change.

Therefore, I want to conclude my speech with one saying of Washington Inwing. He said, "Act, act in living present, heart within and God overhead." Even our *Upanishads* have said that there is no question of going back, there is no question of making the long freedom struggle a futile exercise, there is no question of making the last fifty years of democratic experiment a futile exercise. We should march forward with the slogan:

"March forward, march forward."

"Chareiveti Chareiveti."

DR. GIRIJA VYAS

[Translation]

DR. GIRIJA VYAS (Udaipur) : Mr. Deputy Speaker, Sir, first of all, I extend my sincere thanks to you and the Hon'ble Speaker for holding this special session. Shri Maithili Sharan Gupta had scribed long back :

"Hum Kaun The, Kya ho gaye Aur Kya Honge Abhi,
Aao Vicharo Baithkar Sabhi"

We have gathered here in this House to make the golden jubilee celebrations of our independence and to take stock of our achievements and failures in the past 50 years. Let us discuss what we are going to do in the next fifty years.

We have had piquent mixed experiences. We are proud of preserving and developing a democratic system. Loft had said,

[English]

'Democracy is the divine idea as it exists on the earth'.

[Translation]

Our brave freedom fighters sacrificed their lives at the alter of freedom to bring independence and democracy. After independence few years went by smoothly. Shri George Fernandes has given the example of Pt. Nehru. These days I am working on the biography of Shri K.L. Shrimali. I am reminded of two incidents. First, when Shri K.L. Shrimali was the Union Education Minister, Pt. Nehru asked him one day to sack a Vice-Chancelor against whom repeated complaints were being received. But Shrimaliji refused saying that the complaints were not genuine. When he reached home, people told him that he would certainly be asked to resign as he had refused to comply with Prime Ministers' directions. He was called at 6'o clock but Pt. Nehru instead congratulated him for showing courage and leting him know the true facts. Secondly, one of the relatives of Shri Zakir Hussain was working in a library but he did not, attend office regularly. Shri Shrimali ignored these compaints once or twice. But when complaints started pouring in again he informed Shri Zakir Hussain that his relative was not attending office. Shri Zakir Hussain kept silent at that moment but next day he issued an order that the services of that person should be terminated with immediate effect, no matter he may be my relative. These are instances which speak high of the representatives of this House, and today when we are celebrating the Golden Jubilee there is a big question mark on the Politicians. We are being accused of being involved neck deep in corruption. I do not think that democracy has been a total failure in our country. I give full credit to the masses, irrespective of their being uneducated or semi-literate because today they understand the true meaning of freedom and their right to vote and that is why on many occasions, they have overthrown various governments by exercising their franchise fearlessly. Today, the need of the hour is to safeguard the basic tenets of the Constitution which we administered

to ourselves at the time of independence. I recall that when we adopted the constitution, it contained words such as justice, liberty, equality to all and later socialism and secularism were added through 42nd amendment. The amendment in regard to panchayat, was added quite very late. Here we embarked upon nation building on the basis of Gandhian ethos and ideals and Pt. Nehru had inaugurated the first panchayat in an area of Rajasthan on 2nd October, 1952 but the cardinal question is why after so many amendments the dream of 'Swaraj' could not be translated into a reality. This question is still bothering the mind of the intellectuals as well as common masses as to why this democracy which is a government of the people, by the people and for the people is delivering no goods in its true sense. The Panchayats have virtually not been given any rights for bringing about political, economic and social changes. After constitutional amendment in regard to Panchayats, people had high hopes and it was the dream of late Shri Rajiv Gandhi, but as it was not in the concurrent list, various states have no implemented it properly. There is need to think over it afresh.

Pt. Nehru had never forgotten the promises that himself he made. He tried his best to fulfil the promises he made when he piloted the Constitution in the Constituent Assembly.

[English]

'I trust that the constitution itself will lead us to real freedom; food to our starving people; clothing for them; housing for them; and all manner of opportunities of progress.'

[Translation]

This country can never forget the efforts of Pt. Nehru for national integration, economic development, social equality and political democracy in the country.

I would also like to say that when Indiraji came to power and after 1967, when she started weilding her power with authority, she undertook several programmes such as Nationalisation of Banks, abolishing Privy Purse, enforcement of Land Ceiling act and addressing poverty in her own way and in 1971 she gave a slogan 'Garibi Hatao'

Shastriji has done so much for the country and through a slogan 'Jai Jawan, Jai Kishan', he tried to effect a dynamic boost in agricultural yields. We cannot ever forget Rajivji, who lowered the minimum age limit of voters from 21 years to 18 years. He set an example by introducing Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, Nehru Rozgar Yojana, Indira Awas Yojana and Panchayati Raj Amendment Bill.

Despite all these achievement what have the rural folk got? This is an incident that took place on 15th August. I was returning from National flag hoisting ceremony in my area. Some sweets were being distributed in a school. A woman was carrying a child on her arms and holding another girl with her hand. The girl was carrying water in her head and there was a child in basket. She came there and asked for sweets. The lady accompanying me asked her if she knew as to what was the occasion that day. That women replied that flag had to be hoisted that day. The former women asked her as to how did she feel. That woman replied that the colour of the flag was good and then she again asked for some sweets. The former lady asked her if she knows that it was Independence Day, she stared blankly staired and asked what Independence? When did we get it? When the woman with me told her that we are celebrating the golden jubilee year of Independence and we are likely to get 33 percent reservation in the Parliament and Legislature Houses in the near future. She stared at me with a sort of helplessness and as if admonishing me she said 'so what', What I felt, I would like to say it through a urdu couplet:

'Bekasi ka haal Maiyyat sey Ayaan Ho Jaayega,
Bezubaan Hona Mera, Goya Zubaan Ho Jaayega.'

I felt as if she is asking me if celebration of golden jubilee of Independence, sitting in Parliament will solve all the problems. She has to fetch water from a distance of five kilometers, will it be available at a nearby place now? Whether her child, is destined to help her in household work and to fetch water? Will I be able to get my sick child cured, who is in basket? will I be able to take full care of my child who is in my arms? This is a burning issue which puts a question mark on our Parliamentary system and when we are celebrating the 50th year of Independence, I remember Gandhiji who was shedding tears when partition took place. This is the independence, we got but even after that we did not learn anything.

Today, a lot has been said about corruption. Though we had glory in the past. Today, we are completely submerged in corruption. Until the reforms take place in our election system we cannot check corruption.

The most important issue is communalism regarding which Gandhiji had once said that he lost his two arms. Today we find communalism flowing in our veins. There was a time when we came here from the University. A general feeling among us was that there were great people here and so there will be no communalism but

when we scratched out a little, we found there were Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Chirstians. Not only this, we also find casteism. Here also we fight in the name of Brahmin, Gujjar and other castes. Sometimes I am astonished to see the type of questions asked here. Questions are asked as to what has been done in Nehru Centenary year and Ambedkar Centenary year. We have started dividing our leaders too among different castes. We demolish some one's statue and inagurate some other's. When the Parliament can not answer these questions then what's the use of celebrating fifty years of Independence. Hence, I would like to say that whether we do anything or not but the fact is that we have achieved a lot. It can not be denied.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : Girijaji, how much more time do you need. If you will take 2-4 minutes then complete it otherwise you can continue your speech tomorrow.

DR. GIRIJA VYAS : I will take only ten minutes more. so I will continue it tomorrow.

MR. DEPUTY SPEAKER : The House now stands adjourned till 11.00 a.m. tomorrow.

19.00 hrs

The Lok Sabha then adjourned till Eleven of the clock on Wednesday, August 27, 1997/Bhadra 5, 1919 (Saka)